# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 149 943 RC 010 370

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Hamilton, William L.; And Others |
| TITLE | The Causes of Rural to Urban Migration Among the Poor. Final Report, March 1970. |
| INSTITUTION | Abt Associates, Inc. Cambridge, Mass. |
| SPONS AGENCY | Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. |
| REPORT NO | AAI-70-63 |
| PUB DATE | 31 Mar 70 |
| CONTRACT | OEO-B99-4841 |
| NOTE | 392p. |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Abt Publications, 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138 (CRD-114, $38.10) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.83 HC-$20.75 Plus Postage. |
| DESCRIPTORS | *Blacks; *Caucasians; Comparative Analysis; Demography; *Economically Disadvantaged; Economic Factors; Education; Employment Experience; Employment Opportunities; Employment Patterns; Housing; Labor Market; Low Income Groups; Migration Patterns; Occupational Mobility; Rural Environment; *Rural to Urban Migration; Rural Urban Differences; Socioeconomic Background; *Socioeconomic Influences; *Spanish Americans; Transportation |
| IDENTIFIERS | Appalachia; *Nonmigrants; United States (Southeast); United States (Southwest) |

ABSTRACT

Focusing on individual decisions, the study examined why the rural poor migrated to urban areas. Rural-to-urban migrants were those persons having lived in places of less than 25,000 population and currently residing in major cities. Southeastern blacks, Appalachian whites, and Southwestern Spanish Americans were interviewed in two "destination" cities and eight "origin" counties in the Southeast, Appalachian, and Southwest migrant streams. Interviews with 300 migrants living in low-income neighborhoods of cities and with 300 rural dwellers in households considered poor by local residents were obtained for each of the streams. Data were obtained on the individual's background, the history of moves he had made, characteristics of those moves, his experience in the labor market in rural areas; the reasons reported as important to the decision to migrate or not migrate; and the individual's perceptions and attitudes, particularly his perception of problems in the rural areas and comparisons between urban and rural areas. Also each county named by an individual as a residence was described in terms of published data items, e.g., population, employment rates, distance from a metropolitan area. Findings included: economic reasons were given by a majority of migrants; agricultural displacement was strongly correlated with migration; successful occupational mobility out of agriculture was correlated with non-migration; perception of better urban housing and education was strongly correlated with migration. (NQ)

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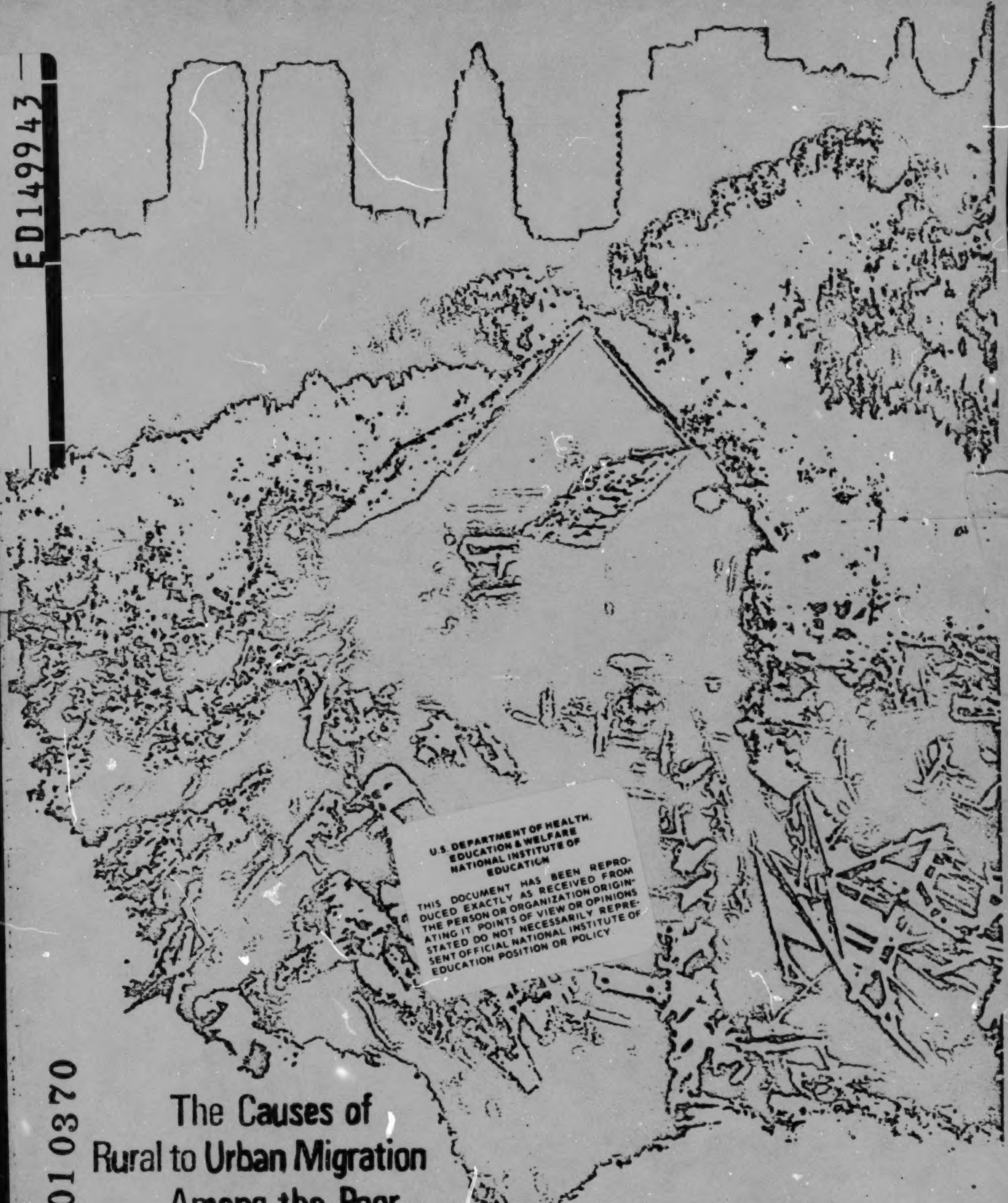

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# The Causes of Rural to Urban Migration Among the Poor

RC 010370

Abt Publications
55 Wheeler Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

March, 1970

# THE CAUSES OF RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION AMONG THE POOR

Final Report

by
William L. Hamilton

Frederick Collignon

Carol Carlson

AAI #: 70-63

based on work performed by Abt Associates Inc. for the Office of Economic Opportunity, pursuant to Contract Number B99-4841

Order Number: CRD-114
$38.10

A division of Abt Associates Inc.

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# THE CAUSES OF RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION AMONG THE POOR

## FINAL REPORT

Contract No. B99-4841

submitted to
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 Nineteenth Street, N, W.
Washington, D. C.

by
William L. Hamilton
Frederick C. Collignon
Carol E. Carlson

Abt Associates Inc. / 55 Wheeler Street / Cambridge / Massachusetts / 02138

31 March 1970

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# PREFACE

This report presents the results of research into the causes of rural-to-urban migration among the poor. The research was carried out under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity (Contract Number B99-4841), from May 1969 to March 1970.

The authors wish to express their appreciation of the efforts of the many persons at OEO who both made the project possible and assisted in its execution. We are particularly grateful to Mr. Ira Kaye, who served as OEO project manager throughout most of the effort and whose support and assistance were consistently helpful. We also thank Mr. Michael McMahon, Mrs. Bette Mahoney, and Mrs. Patricia Koshel for useful suggestions and comments contributed at various phases during the project.

It would be impossible to distribute all the thanks that should be due members of the Abt Associates staff. We do want to take special note of the contributions from Richard Anderson, Martin Gordon, Peter Merrill and Stephen Fitzsimmons in the initial process of project design. Karl Hendrickson and Paul Spellman deserve special credit for dealing effectively with mountains of data, as does Robert Riley for dealing with a rebellious computer. And Ellie Johnson can not be thanked enough for her long and efficient efforts, especially in the production of this report.

If any single group was critical to the success of the study, however, it was the field operations leaders and the interviewers. To the interviewers, residents of six cities and 24 counties, we can only direct a generally inclusive bow of thanks. Among the Abt Associates field leaders, we give special thanks to James Wiley, Peter Crane, Sarah Harkness, McKinley Freeman, Wendell Knox, McKinley Young, Donald Block, Rebecca Nunnelee, John and Janet Kernodle, John Miranowski and Daniel Del Solar.

We owe thanks for the suggestions and assistance provided by migration scholars around the country. We are especially indebted to Calvin Beale of the USDA Economic Research Service, John Kain of Harvard University, Gene Petersen of the Bureau of Social Science Research, Lyle Shannon of the University of Iowa, Daniel Price of TRACOR, and Robert Hanson of the University of Colorado.

Finally, our deepest debt is to the migrants and the rural residents whose cooperation provided the basic data for the study. They deserve not our thanks but rather the benefit of serious attempts to alleviate their problems. Our hope is that this report will contribute toward that end.

William L. Hamilton
Frederick C. Collignon
Carol E. Carlson

# PART I :

# OVERVIEW

## CHAPTER 1: THE STUDY IN CONTEXT

Rural-to-urban migration in the United States is nothing new. Every decade since 1880, with the exception of the 1930's, has seen a decrease in the proportion of the population residing in rural areas. Other factors are involved, but the movement of people from the farm or the small town to the larger urban area has been a consistent component of this change. Public consciousness of the migration flows has increased with the accuracy of reporting and the absolute number of people involved. Much of the discussion of rural-to-urban migration in recent years has been based on Census figures for 1950-1960. In that decade, counties which were classified as at least 70% urban gained some 5.5 million residents through migration. Counties in the next largest urban category gained 1.8 million.[1] These and similar statistics indicated a magnitude of population flow which inspired considerable concern.

Recently available information suggests that at least some aspects of rural-to-urban migration may have slowed considerably.[2] In particular, the data appear to indicate that the numbers leaving the farm are declining, reflecting an adjustment to the technological and other changes which displaced many farm workers in the 1950's. It is by no means clear, however, that fewer persons are moving from rural non-farm to urban places,[3] or from small towns to large cities. Moreover, while the heavy Black Belt out-migration stemming from technological displacement in cotton is coming to a close, the technological innovation in the tobacco industry in the southeastern coast is just starting. Thus,

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1. Gladys K. Bowles and James D. Tarver, "The Composition of New Migration Among Counties in the United States, 1950-1960", Agricultural Economics Research (January, 1966), p. 16.

2. Calvin L. Beale, "Demographic and Social Considerations for U.S. Rural Economic Policy", American Journal of Agricultural Economics (May, 1969). The reported decrease, however, refers to absolute numbers of off-farm migrants. The percentage of people leaving the farm appears to be steady or even slightly increasing.

3. The Census definition of "rural" includes places of less than 2,500 population, and most statistics divide the people living in such places into farm and non-farm population.

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even if the population movement officially labelled "rural-to-urban" migration is decreasing, the problems connected with the arrival of hundreds of thousands of persons in the big cities -- and the departure of the same hundreds of thousands from less populous areas -- may continue for some time to come.

Rural-to-urban migration tends to occur in "streams", that is, patterns of flow which link particular origin areas with particular destination areas for large groups of migrants. The streams tend to have both geographic and ethnic definitions. Thus, the element of the 1950-1960 migration pattern which drew particular attention was the movement of some 1.4 million blacks from mostly rural southern areas to the large cities of the North. Several relatively well-defined streams have been identified: rural Puerto Ricans move to the cities of Puerto Rico and the east coast of mainland United States; rural blacks from the South Atlantic states (Virginia through Florida) migrate to growing regional cities and such northeastern cities as Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark and New York; white residents of rural Appalachia move to cities in Ohio and other midwestern states; blacks move from the South Central region (Alabama through Louisiana) to Memphis, St. Louis, and major Midwestern cities (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland); Mexican-American residents of rural Texas move either northward, to Chicago and other cities in that region, or westward, to California cities such as Los Angeles; Spanish-Americans of the New Mexico-Colorado area go to Albuquerque, Denver, Utah and California; Mexican-Americans move from rural southern California to most of the major west coast cities. There are in addition streams which have reasonably well-defined origin regions, but whose destination points have not been studied and identified, or whose destination points when studied have been found to be dispersed. Included in this group would be Indians from reservations in the West and North Central regions; whites from the rural South; and whites from the Central Plains area (roughly a triangle whose points are in the upper peninsula of Michigan, western Montana, and southwestern Texas).

Insofar as migration streams represent migration decisions based on tradition, or the individual's knowledge of where other migrants have gone, the existence of such streams conflicts with the classic economic theory of migration. By the terms of that theory the individual, having perfect information, chooses his residence so as to maximize his welfare. Since his welfare is primarily conceived in economic terms, the individual in fact tends to locate such that he mazimizes his income, his probability of employment or his economic security, subject to constraints of financial costs and capability. Migration, then, is the adjustment mechanism by which the individual improves his productivity, and thus his welfare. He presumably moves from an area of labor surplus to an area of labor shortage, where his skills will bring him a better financial return. Urbanization is seen as providing the opportunity for a concentration of economic activities, resulting in economies of scale and external economies, and thus in higher productivity for both capital and labor. Rural-to-urban migration in this model provides economic gains to both individual and society.

Most studies to date confirm the idea that the migrant benefits economically from his move, and the migrants interviewed in this project conform to those findings. It appears further that despite the increased cost of living in urban areas, migrants experience a real rise in standard of living as compared with the rural areas.[1] There is evidence, however, that this economic gain is accompanied by significant social and psychological costs.[2] Most of the migrants interviewed in this study said they would make the same move again, but a minority of more than 20% did not feel this way, and their satisfaction/dissatisfaction was surprisingly little related to income gains. Other studies have identified a variety of social and psychological difficulties encountered by the individual who pulls up his roots from the rural area and attempts to set them down in the city.[1]

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[1] Daniel Price, *A Study of Economic Consequences of Rural to Urban Migration* (Austin, Texas: TRACOR, 1969), examined not only income change but also change in possession of such material goods as food, shoes, household items, etc. Price found gains almost universally.

[2] The economist of course can modify his model to allow for costs of information, social and psychological dimensions of welfare, and even a satisficing rather than a maximizing criterion for behavior. Once so modified, however, the model has little resemblance to the models used historically by economists in predicting behavior or prescribing national migration policy.

The most widely noticed negative effects of rural-to-urban migration have not been those felt by the individual, but rather those occurring in the urban reception areas. Public debate has tended to focus on welfare, with assertions that many migrants' income gains were due primarily to the higher welfare rates of the city. Even though most evidence argues against this extreme version,[2] there is little doubt that the arrival of low-income persons puts additional strains on precisely those aspects of the cities' social service systems which are most burdened already. Further, even migrants who become economically productive in the city are likely to be unprepared to participate in the social and political system of the city. Such lack of participation may represent simply an unutilized resource, or it may become the basis for social friction and disorder such as that investigated by the Kerner Commission.[3]

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[1] Lee Rainwater, "Social and Cultural Problems of Migrants to Cities", Rural Poverty in the United States, 1969 President's Commission on Rural Poverty, and C. Tilley and C.H. Brown, "On Uprooting, Kinship, and Auspices of Migration", International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 8: 139-164, (September 1967).

[2] Two quite recent studies found that migrants find jobs very quickly upon entering the city, and that their welfare rate is comparable to that of the low-income population they join in the city. Price, op. cit., and Gene B. Petersen and Laure M. Sharp, Southern Migrants to Cleveland (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1969).

[3] Charles Tilley, "Race and Migration to the American City", James Q. Wilson, ed. The Metropolitan Enigma (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968); and Donald J. Bogue, "Internal Migration", in Philip Hauser, ed. The Study of Population (Chicago: 1962).

The city has been the focus of most concern about the negative effects of rural-to-urban migration, but the impact on the rural areas may be equally significant. It is well known that out-migrants from rural areas are not a representative cross-section of the rural population. Rather, they tend to be the younger, most productive age groups. The departure of such persons depletes the labor force, decreasing the rural area's ability to attract the new industry which is necessary for economic growth. Such selective out-migration obviously distorts the demographic structure of the area, and may lead to a situation of natural population decrease.[1] More often, it leads to a decline in total population, which in turn leads to higher unit costs in service provision, declining real estate values, decreasing availability of consumer goods -- in short, to a whole network of effects, which may complete the circle by increasing pressure for out-migration.

These negative effects of the rural-to-urban migration process begin to make the case for a public policy concerning such migration. The case is by no means open and shut. One argument against any deliberate policy on migration is that we do not know enough about the costs and benefits to the individual arising from migration. There are identifiable costs, and identifiable benefits, but since we do not understand their interrelationships the individual should be left to balance the costs and benefits and make the decision for himself.[2] It can also be argued that it is unclear whether the costs evident in particular cities and particular rural areas offset the benefits of increased individual productivity, which contributes to overall economic growth. The proponent of policy will argue that it is the function of government to attempt to minimize the costs, both to the individual and to society, of such a process.

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[1] Beale, op. cit., reports that there were about 300 such counties in the 1960-66 period, and that the number may rise to 600 for the decade. This is the first time such a phenomenon has been observed on a wide scale since the 1930's.

[2] Price, op. cit., concludes: "... no government agency should take as its specific policy the encouragement or discouragement of migration from rural to urban areas. The financial status and general well-being of so many individuals is improved by migration from rural to urban areas that no restrictions should be placed on such movement. On the other hand, because a sufficient number of rural individuals prefer living in rural areas even if it means a lower level of living, it would seem unwise to encourage or bring pressure on such individuals to leave the rural area." (Vol. I, p. 18.)

The opponent of policy can counter that we do not even know what all the costs and benefits are, much less how to deal effectively with them.

The question of whether there is to be a migration policy may in the end be settled by an external factor: the increasing demand for public policy on population distribution. The nation has a rapidly growing population. The largest cities are faced with serious strains on the capacity of their economic, political and social systems, and the problem of in-migration is only one in a multitude of aggravations to this situation. The nation is becoming publicly concerned with a complex ecology in which the location and activities of people are a critical factor. All of these facts are increasing the pressure for a national population distribution policy, and President Nixon's 1970 State of the Union message may represent the first large step toward the formulation of such policy.

Any attempts to implement a conscious population distribution policy will require migration policy, not as a goal in itself but as a means. Population control policy which concentrates on affecting birth rates may be a desirable long-term element of population distribution policy, but it is neither quick enough nor flexible enough to have the short-range effects which are certain to be desired. Rather, it will be necessary to influence the behavior of individuals, to encourage them to remain in some areas, to encourage them to out-migrate from other areas, to encourage them to migrate to selected destination areas. In all probability this will mean working with existing migration patterns to depress the flow, speed it up, or redirect it.

It should be noted that to some extent the question of whether or not public policy should affect the migration process is academic. Public policy already does affect the migration process, both directly and indirectly. Highway construction in rural areas provides jobs to people who might have migrated without them. The "growth center" policy of concentrated investment in a particular city is in part intended to result in migration to that city and in diversion of migration from other cities. Vocational training may prepare the rural resident to migrate, or may increase his competitive ability in the local job market, or both. Soil bank programs may eliminate jobs and induce the displaced worker to migrate. Thus, while migration policy per se does not exist, there are already many policies which affect migration, regardless of the awareness or the will of the policy-maker.

## The Study

The study whose results are reported in these pages is based on the assumption that public policy concerning migration -- or at least an awareness of the effects of policy upon migration -- is likely to be a necessity of the near future. Such policy must be able to affect -- or at least to understand -- the behavior of individuals in the migration process. The study therefore poses the question, "Why do poor people move from rural to urban areas?"

Two elements of this question are critical to an understanding of the purposes of the study and its design. First, the focus of the study is upon individuals and individual decisions about migration. This is in contrast to most past works on the causes of migration. Such studies have in general used Census, Social Security, or similar data, usually on aggregated groups of individuals, but occasionally on individuals directly. This data has been combined with aggregated data describing characteristics of the places serving as origins or destinations of the migrating group. Causes of migration have been inferred either from the aggregate characteristics of the places (e. g., the relative per capita incomes of the origin and destination communities), or from changes in the condition of the individual (e. g., an increase in income after migration). Assumptions are frequently made in both approaches that individuals respond rationally to environmental characteristics, that the environment of a place (country or city) is perceived and experienced similarly by different individuals in the place, and that the economic or other condition analyzed was the salient factor in the individual's thinking at the time he made his migration decision. In contrast, the emphasis of this study is directly upon the experience, stated motivations, and perceptions of individuals who make migration decisions.

The second point is that the study is focusing on the rural-to-urban migration of "poor" people. It seems probable that any migration policy will begin with those patterns viewed as the biggest problems, and that currently means the migration to the cities of low-income groups.[1] Three specific streams are studied in this project: the Southeastern black stream, whose members migrate from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia toward the northeastern cities; the Appalachian white stream, whose members move primarily from rural areas in Kentucky and West Virginia to cities in Ohio; and the Southwestern Spanish-American stream, whose members move from rural Colorado and New Mexico to major cities in that region and westward. In all three streams, those included in the study were the low-income elements of the population. (No rigid definition of poverty was used, however.)

Beyond the focus on low-income individuals, the policy orientation of this study required certain emphases, and corresponding non-emphases, in the areas investigated. Primary attention is devoted to those causes of migration which are in areas susceptible to policy influence. Jobs, economic growth, transportation, housing, education, medical care and assistance programs are all studied. Individual personality characteristics (e.g., risk-taking propensity) which might well be hypothesized to be important in the migration decision were generally not studied. The only individual characteristics emphasized are those which are useful in identifying sub-groups of the population (e.g., young, single males) to whom specific types of policy may apply.

An additional point of definition is important. This study did not employ the Census definition of "rural", encompassing only places of less than 2,500 population. Particularly in view of the focus on the "problem" elements of the process, and the feeling that many new arrivals to the large cities are coming from small towns rather than "rural" areas strictly defined, it was felt that the Census definition would be overly restrictive. A break point of approximately 25,000 population was used. Persons having lived in places of less than 25,000 population and currently residing in major cities were considered rural-to-urban migrants.

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[1] Some argue that it is the moral obligation of policy to begin with precisely that group, which has the least ability to be selective in its residence. Cf. James L. Sundquist, "Where Shall They Live", Public Interest (Winter, 1970), p. 90.

The basic data for this study were collected in a special survey conducted by Abt Associates in June-September, 1969. Interviewing was conducted in two "destination" cities and eight "origin" counties in each of the three streams. The cities surveyed for the Southeast stream were Baltimore, Md., and Greensboro, N.C. The Appalachian stream cities were Columbus, Ohio, and Cincinnati, Ohio. Denver, Colo. and Albuquerque, N.M., were the cities for the Southwest stream. All cities were selected on the basis of a high expected concentration of recent in-migrants. Each pair of cities represents alternative destination points for the same general rural population. The rural counties were selected from the list of origin points named by the migrants interviewed in the cities. The southeastern counties surveyed were in North Carolina, Virginia and South Carolina; the Appalachian counties were in Kentucky, West Virginia and Ohio; the southwestern counties were in New Mexico and Colorado. The map on page 12 illustrates those locations and the general "region of interest" for each stream. A total of approximately 300 urban interviews and 300 rural interviews was obtained for each of the three streams.

Three general categories of information were sought in the interviews. The first type was information describing the individual and facts about his life. Included in this category were the standard demographic descriptors, information on the history of moves the individual had made, characteristics of those moves (alone or with other people, etc.), and his experience in the labor market in rural areas. The second category includes the reasons which individuals reported as important to their decisions to migrate or not migrate. The third information category included perceptions and attitudes, focusing particularly on the person's perception of problems in the rural areas and comparisons between urban

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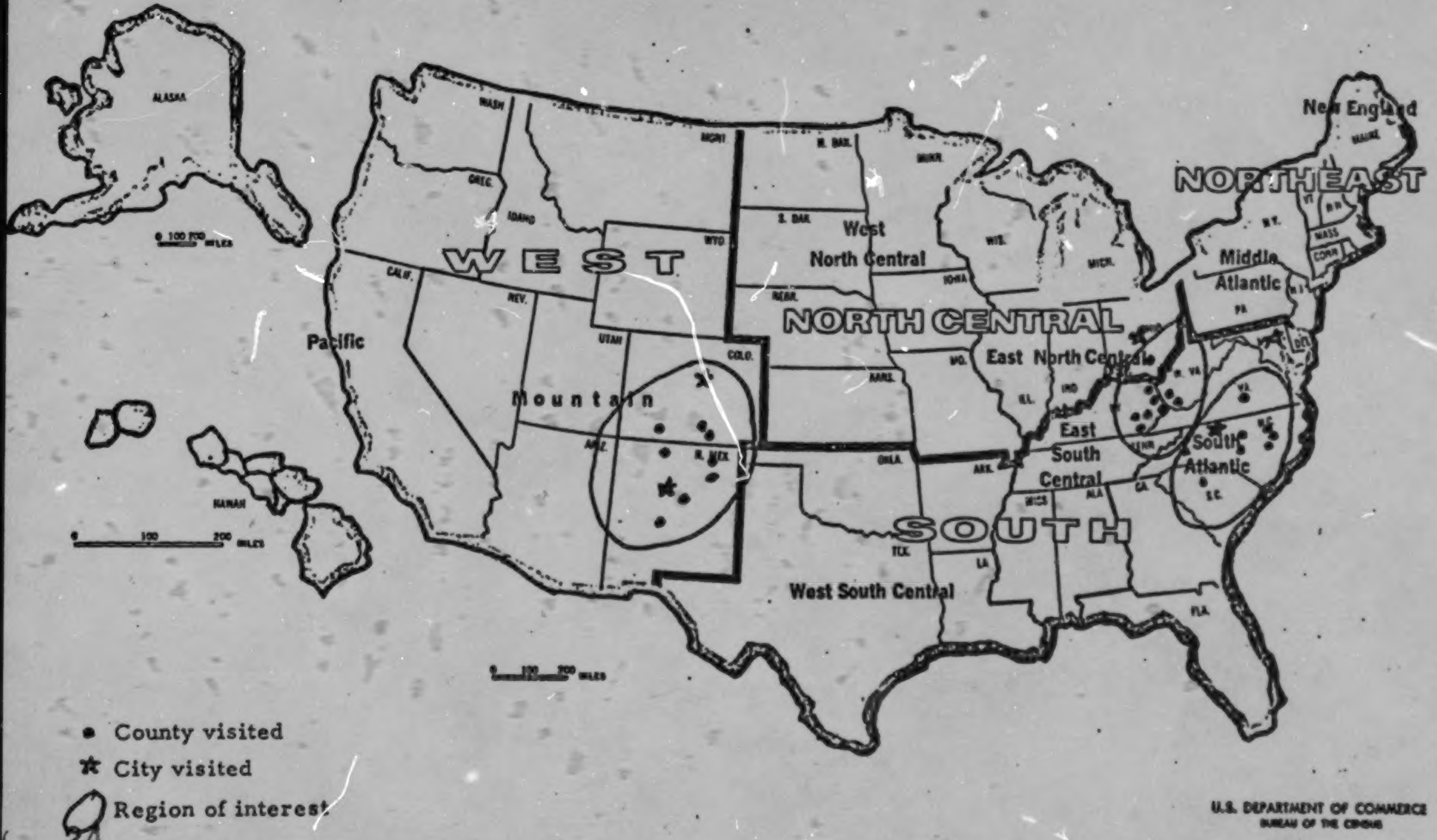
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Region of interest

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and rural areas. In addition to the interview data, each county named by an individual as a residence was described in terms of published data items (e.g., population, employment rates, distance from a metropolitan area).

This report is organized in four parts. Part I is designed to give the reader an overall picture of the study. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents a summary of significant findings. Chapter 3 enters the gap between data and action, discussing the policy implications of the study's more important conclusions.

Part II presents the findings in that area which was the primary focus of the study, the causes of migration. Chapter 4 introduces the approach taken to the analysis of causes, and puts the results of analysis into the framework of a conceptual model. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on two related areas, the general economic structure and jobs, which are almost universally regarded as critical considerations in the migration decision. Chapters 7 through 11 discuss the relevance of the service structure to migration, treating in turn the subjects transportation, housing, education, health and special assistance programs. Chapter 12 touches briefly on several elements, including discrimination, the general "appeal" of an area and personal "life cycle" reasons for moving.

Part III is concerned with the process of migration. Chapter 13 focuses upon the nature of the migration decision in terms of the component decisions which it appears to include. Chapter 14 looks at the patterns of movement which individuals undertake, with special attention to the concept of "chain" or "step" migration. Chapter 15 presents analyses concerning the extent of past migration and the propensity for future migration in the sample groups.

Part IV presents background data on the three regions and populations studied. Chapters 16 through 18 focus in turn upon the Southwest, Appalachian and Southeast streams.

Part V presents somewhat more technical background data relevant to the study. Chapter 19 describes the sample in terms of its demographic characteristics. Finally, Chapter 20 reviews the methodology employed in the study.

# CHAPTER 2: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

## Structure of the Study

The principal objective of the study was to investigate the question, "Why do poor people move from rural to urban areas?"

Within the framework provided by this central question, the study devoted particular attention to policy-relevant hypotheses. That is, the greatest interest was in those factors which might be related to migration behavior and which could be significantly influenced by policy or program action. This meant in particular economic conditions -- especially labor market characteristics -- and the "infrastructure" services such as transportation, housing, education, medical care, and special assistance programs.

A series of topics concerning the nature of the migration process were also examined. These included: the decision process through which an individual decides to migrate; the "paths" which individual migrants take, in terms of the number of moves made and the nature of the destination points; and the potential future migration behavior of poor persons currently living in either urban or rural settings.

The primary data base was a set of interviews carried out with migrants to six major cities and with current residents in 24 rural counties. Sampling was stratified according to three geographic-ethnic groupings, such that the sample consisted of approximately 300 urban and 300 rural interviews among Southeastern blacks, and the same number among Appalachian whites and Southwestern Spanish-Americans.

Slightly less than half of the persons interviewed were males (about 47% in the total sample). The rural (non-migrant) sample was considerably older than the urban (migrant) group; 35% of the migrants were between 16 and 21 years old, while only 8% of the non-migrants

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fell in that category. Roughly equal proportions of urban and rural residents (70%) were married at the time they were interviewed, although only 51% of the migrants had been married before they left the rural area. Less than a third of the sample had completed high school, and more than 40% had completed eight or fewer years of formal education. Within age groupings, the migrants were somewhat less well educated than the rural sample. The migrants' reported family income before leaving the rural area was generally lower than the past year's income reported by current rural residents. Urban dwellers' current income, however, was substantially higher than either their own pre-migration income or the current income reported by the rural sample.

It is extremely important in interpreting the findings of this study to remember that it is based on a sample of the poor population, in both rural and urban areas. Strict financial definitions of poverty were not used; rather, sampling procedures used local experts' and residents' subjective judgments of poverty status. Only migrants currently living in low-income neighborhoods of cities were interviewed. Only rural dwellers in households which were considered "poor" by local residents were interviewed.

The fact that the study deals with a sample of the poor population means that analyses of these data cannot say how the poor are different from the non-poor in their migration behavior. When we find a correlation between, say, home ownership and non-migration, we can only say that poor people who own their own homes in the rural area tend not to leave. We can not say whether this tendency would be stronger, weaker, or even in the same direction for members of the non-poor population. And we can use only intuitive reasoning or external data to comment on the probable differences in the rate of home ownership among the non-poor. This limitation -- in essence, the limitation of analysis to considerations of within-group rather than between-group variance on the poverty variable -- should be borne in mind in all interpretations of the analyses presented here. This is especially true in questions of employment experience and labor market perceptions, which are obviously related to poverty status. The limitation should be given particular consideration in any comparison of these findings with those of other studies.

## Causes of Migration

Two approaches to the question of why poor people migrate were used. The first, relatively straightforward approach was simply to ask the migrants why they moved, and to ask rural residents what might make them move.

The second approach was to ask both the urban and the rural groups a series of questions concerning their experiences, and another series concerning their perceptions of selected characteristics of rural and urban areas. Where it was found that the migrants had different experiences or different perceptions from the non-migrants, those experiences and perceptions were examined as possible causes of the individuals' migration behavior.

The following principal findings emerge from these analyses:

1) A sizeable majority of migrants stated that they moved for economic reasons. The specific reasons given usually reflected a search for a job, a specific job offer, or a loss of job in the rural area. Rural residents, asked why they might move to the city, cited substantially the same reasons.

2) Despite this heavy emphasis on economic, and especially employment factors, employment experience in the rural area was not very strongly correlated with migration behavior. Those who were unemployed and looking for work in the rural area, especially those in the older age categories, had a fairly strong tendency to be found in the migrant sample. But several non-employment variables had considerably stronger correlations with migration. Other

employment-related factors, such as underemployment and job turnover, were even less importantly correlated with migration behavior.

Nonetheless, the employment history data show a highly unfavorable employment situation in the rural area, for both migrants and current rural residents. Some 46% of the men and 39% of the women interviewed were non-voluntarily unemployed while in the rural area. More than a third of those who were employed had seasonal or less than year-round work, and many others were working less than a full 40-hour week.

Occupation in the rural area was only weakly related to migration behavior, with one exception. Agricultural displacement was strongly correlated with migration. Successful occupational mobility out of agriculture was correlated with non-migration.

3) Both the migrants and the non-migrants had highly critical perceptions of the conditions in the rural labor market with which they were familiar. But there was a negative correlation between the perception of such problems and migration. That is, the rural residents tended to be more critical than the migrants.

Similarly, both migrants and non-migrants responded strongly in the affirmative when asked whether they thought the urban job market was better than that in the rural area. Perceptions of urban advantage in labor markets were not correlated with migration in any consistent pattern. This apparently conflicting pattern of responses to the "why did you migrate" question and the experience/perception series will be discussed subsequently.

4) The single strongest correlate of migration was an indicator of perceived urban advantage in "amenities." Those who responded in the affirmative to the question, "Did you (or, for non-migrants, do you) think there would be more things you would like to do in the city?" had the greatest observed tendency to be found in the migrant sample.

This strong correlation was consistent within all population sub-groupings, although in some of the sub-groups it was not the most strongly correlated variable.

5) Perception of better urban housing and education was strongly correlated with migration. However, these variables were also highly correlated with the perception of an urban advantage in amenities, so that multivariate analysis showed a considerably less strong correlation. Expected urban advantage in amenities, education and housing appeared to form a cluster of related attitudes, and those three variables tended to have very similar correlations with other variables.

Perception of urban advantage in medical care did not seem to be part of the same cluster and was not significantly correlated with migration.

6) Criticism of rural conditions in the infrastructure areas of housing, education and medical care tended to be negatively correlated with migration. That is, the rural residents had the higher rate of agreement with statements identifying particular types of problems (e.g., "It was hard to get medical care because there weren't enough doctors.")

7) Knowledge of the availability of vocational training programs, and participation in these or other kinds of assistance programs, were strongly correlated with non-migration. People who reported that they had heard of other people receiving vocational training in the rural area tended to be found among the non-migrant group. Likewise, people who had themselves received vocational training appeared more often to stay in the rural area. People who received assistance in the rural area from poverty programs, or from welfare and other income assistance programs, tended still to be residing in the rural area.

Perception of greater availability of program assistance in the urban area did not correlate in any consistent pattern with migration behavior. The responses to two separate questions concerning such an urban advantage in program assistance were oppositely correlated with migration, both at relatively low levels of significance within most sub-groups.

8) Personal transportation capacity, the accessibility of jobs and services, and commuting behavior were strongly related to migration. People with good transportation capability in the rural area, people who did not perceive problems of physical access to jobs and services, and people who commuted to work in the rural area all tended not to migrate. Problems of accessibility and transport capability tended not to be directly perceived, but to appear under questioning about specific services (e. g., were the schools too far away for kids to get there?) or possible behavior in specific situations (e. g., if you got a job outside the local community, could you commute or would you have to move?).

9) Ownership of fixed assets (home or farm) in the rural area was strongly associated with non-migration. Owners of such assets, within all population sub-groups, tended to be found in the non-migrant group. Further, continued ownership of assets among migrants was correlated with expectations of migrating back to the rural area.

10) Perceptions of discrimination were very strong among the Southeastern black population, and relatively mild among the Southwestern Spanish-Americans. A feeling that there would be less discrimination in the urban area was strongly associated with migration in the black sample, while this variable was not significantly related to Spanish-American migration behavior. Perception of discrimination in jobs in the rural area was more strongly correlated with migration among the Spanish-Americans than the blacks.

11) There were significant differences in the level of response among the three geographic-ethnic samples on practically every question, but there were few consistent patterns of difference. The most noticeable pattern appeared in a series of variables which might be taken as indirect measures of ties to (or alienation from) the rural

area. The Appalachian white sample group consistently showed the strongest ties to the rural area, and the Southeastern blacks the least, with the Southwestern Spanish-Americans occupying a middle position. This was especially observable in the stated reason for migrating (the blacks most frequently cited non-economic reasons for moving) and in the expectations of return migration (the Appalachian group had the highest rate of expected return).

12) Aggregate indicators of county conditions (e.g., unemployment rates, doctors per capita) proved not to be strongly correlated with the experiences and perceptions of poor residents of the counties. Perceptions seemed slightly better related to relevant aggregate indicators than did employment-related experiences. Perceptions of medical care were the most strongly correlated, but even these correlations were relatively weak. This suggests the difficulty of assessing the experiences and feelings of individuals, particularly individuals who are members of a fairly special population sub-group (i.e. the poor), on the basis of such aggregate indicators.

* * * *

Of these findings, probably the most startling is the apparent contradiction between the migrants' highly employment-oriented conscious reasons for moving, on the one hand, and the relative lack of correlation between either employment experience or labor market perceptions and migration behavior, on the other. This appears to be the result of the fact, which was stressed previously, that the population, sampled was the poor population. Among that population, employment experience in the rural area appears to be almost uniformly bad. Similarly, perceptions of the rural job situation are uniformly critical, and perceptions of the urban job situation uniformly more favorable. If compared with the experiences and perceptions of the non-poor population, it seems quite possible not only that significant differences would be observed, but that those differences would be correlated with migration behavior.

But within the rural poor population, these experiences and perceptions do not tell us which are the people most likely to migrate. Their employment experiences and related labor market perceptions would seem to incline all of them to migrate. And while those employment-related factors stand out most importantly in the migrants' minds in retrospect, it appears to be the non-employment variables which distinguish the migrants from those who had to make the same decision but chose not to move.

Nature of the migration process

Aside from the direct issue of migration causes, three aspects of the migration process were considered to be of particular interest. First, it was desired to know something of the circumstances surrounding the decision to migrate. Questions were asked concerning the length of time spent considering migration, the location of friends or relatives with respect to the migration, the reasons for selecting the destination city, and the sources of information on cities. Significant findings included:

1) Most migrants report a relatively long time spent considering the migration decision. About 60% stated that they had thought of migrating either for "a few months" or "years".

2) The vast majority of migrants either expected to meet someone in the destination city, or at least knew someone there. There are few cases, however, where the absence of such a contact could hinder potential rural-to-urban migrants; some 87% of the rural population reported that they had relatives currently living in some large city.

3) Few migrants considered more than a single city as their possible migration destination. Only about a quarter of the migrants reported such consideration, leading to doubt that the decision was made on any "rational" assessment of destination characteristics.

4) Of those who did report that they had considered alternative destinations, most migrants made the selection on the basis of some form of relatively personal relationship to the city. The primary

reasons of this type were personal experience in the city, the presence of friends or relatives there, or the receipt of a specific job offer.

5) The vast majority of migrants reported that they received their information on cities from personal sources. These sources were again primarily the individual's own experience in cities and that of friends and relatives. There was no significant difference between the sources of information named for the rejected alternative cities and those named as the main source of city information.

The few individuals who did receive information about jobs or urban opportunities through formal public sources tended not to migrate, or, if they did migrate, to go to regional centers closer to their origin point.

6) The migrants' stated reasons for moving, their reasons for destination selection, and their reasons for moving at the particular time they chose were all cross-tabulated. The major conscious reason for moving corresponded closely to the "precipitating event" cited; neither of those reasons correlated as closely with the reason given for destination selection. This combines with other findings to suggest that the migration decision consists of two stages, one in which a destination is chosen (consciously or unconsciously), and one in which an actual decision to leave the rural area is made.

The second aspect of the migration process to be investigated was the migration "path" or "trek" followed by the rural-to-urban migrants. Data were collected on all moves the migrant had made since age 16, the distance traveled and the length of the stay. Aggregate indicators of employment-related conditions in particular were collected for all intermediate and final destination points. Analysis of this data showed:

1) A substantial proportion of the migrants made multiple stops. Some 40% of those interviewed in the cities had moved at least twice since age 16, and about 20% had made three or more moves.

2) The first rural-to-urban move for most migrants covered a distance of more than 100 miles. Only about a third of the migrants moved less than that distance, with the Spanish-American group having the highest rate of such shorter-distance migration. Young people make long-distance moves substantially more frequently than the older migrants.

3) Multiple-stop migrants do not have consistent patterns of "gain"-- as measured by improvement in aggregate labor market indicators--from destination to destination. That is, migrants do not consistently move from "worse" to "better" labor markets, as measured by such overall factors as unemployment rates. This must be taken in the light of the earlier finding that individual experience is not highly correlated with aggregate indicators of conditions.

Looking solely at the first rural-to-urban move, however, a pattern of gain on most economic indicators is registered for virtually all migrants. This is consistent with reported income change data, which shows that almost all migrants currently have much higher incomes than they did in the rural areas.

The third area of investigation of the migration process directed attention toward moves in the migrant's history other than the primary rural-to-urban move. Limited amounts of data were collected on past urban-to-rural migration by members of the rural sample, future migration to the city by rural residents, and the possibilities of future urban-to-rural or urban-to-urban migration of migrants currently living in the city. Findings included:

1) Some experience with urban areas was very common among rural residents. About a third of the rural residents interviewed had once lived in a city, and subsequently moved to their current location. Three-quarters of the lifetime rural residents had at least visited a large city.

Prior exposure to urban areas was not correlated with migrating. Rural residents who had lived previously in cities, however, were more likely than the lifetime rural residents to say they had thought about moving to the city.

The proportion of urban-to-rural migrants found in the rural sample was highest for the Appalachian group, lowest for the Southeastern blacks. This conforms with the pattern of current migrants' expectations of return.

2) The principal reasons given for urban-to-rural migration by the returned migrants were related to homesickness, or general preference for rural as opposed to urban living. Those who did not move to the rural area for such reasons of general preference were more inclined to say they had considered moving back to the city.

3) About a quarter of the persons interviewed in the rural area said that they had considered moving to the city. Young, single people had the highest rate of positive response to this question. When asked why they had not yet moved, the most common reasons were a current job in the rural area, family responsibilities, or an inability to afford the move.

4) About 15% of the migrants currently living in the city said that they thought they would some day move back to the rural area. The rate of expected return was highest for the Appalachian whites, lowest for the Southeastern blacks. Those who still owned homes or farms in the rural area most often expected to return.

Measures of the "success" of migration were not consistently correlated with expectations of return. Among the Appalachian migrant group, people who expressed dissatisfaction with their move (saying that they would not do it over again) tended to expect to return; but such dissatisfaction was not at all correlated with expected return among blacks. Reported gain in family income was not strongly correlated with expectations of return or non-return in any group.

5) In two of the six urban survey cities, migrants were asked whether they had ever thought about moving on to another big city. More than a quarter of the migrants responded that they had in fact considered such an urban-to-urban move. In the black sample group, the tendency to consider such on-migration was correlated with expressed dissatisfaction with the past migration. This correlation did not exist for the

Appalachian migrant group. Thus, it would appear that dissatisfaction with the rural-to-urban migration leads the Appalachian whites to consider returning to the rural area, and leads the Southeastern blacks to consider migrating onward to another city.

## A Model of Migration

The findings outlined in preceding pages lead to the construction of a model or theory of the rural-to-urban migration process. The theory is relatively straightforward, differing from most existing models primarily in its focus upon the individual, and the individual member of the poor population.

An individual does not make decisions about his residential location daily. Rather, he establishes a kind of equilibrium, consisting of a balance of the individual's perceptions, experiences and relationships to a social community within a geographic location. Some of these factors incline the individual to stay where he is; others incline him to move. Minor changes may occur in the conditions of the individual's experiences, his environment or his perception of the environment. Even if these changes shift the balance of factors toward a greater inclination to leave, however, inertia is likely to keep the individual from responding to marginal changes by changing his location.

The individual's economic experiences, particularly employment experiences, are a crucial element of the equilibrium. The rural poor population as a group has a very unhappy economic and employment experience. For that group, then, the residential equilibrium is probably more tenuous than for other groups. In economic respects, experience and perception alike incline the rural poor person to move to the city.

The time at which a decision to migrate is most likely to be made is when a major shock disrupts the pattern of an individual's life. The two such major events most often occurring in the lives of those interviewed were agricultural displacement and a change from youth to adult status. In the former case, the individual is forced to achieve either occupational or geographic mobility, or both. In the latter case, the individual is changing from a status of dependency on the parental family to independence at the core of a new family unit. The shock may have many different forms for different individuals, of course, but these are the two most easily identified in the data.

When the shock occurs, the factors balanced in the residential equilibrium are re-assessed. The economic factors, as we have seen, tend logically to push the rural poor person in the direction of the city. But other factors enter into the balancing process, and these include experiences and perceptions less universally shared by all members of the rural poor population. Among the rural poor, then, some individuals perceive the city as a place where there is more to do (that is, where the general level of "amenities" is higher), as a place where housing and education are better, and perceive the rural area as a place where jobs and services are hard to get to. Such people tend to move. On the other hand, if the individual owns fixed assets in the rural area, if he sees that services such as vocational training are available, if he actually receives some form of program assistance, if he has the capability to enlarge his labor market and consumption opportunities by commuting--then such an individual tends not to migrate.

Seldom will all factors be inclining an individual in the same direction, of course. Rather, he balances a belief in the better amenities of city living against the ownership of fixed assets, the opportunities for improved economic conditions in the city against his psychological ties to the rural area.

The kinds of data and the kinds of analytical tools available at this point are far too crude to tell us which factors will outweigh which, or how much belief in urban amenities is necessary to offset a 20-acre farm. Nor is it likely that all important considerations have been identified here. The evidence does indicate, however, that the identified factors are significant in the balancing process, and in the directions described.

The principal decision which occurs close to the time of the move seems to be *whether or not* the individual will migrate. *Where* he will migrate is in some respects a separate decision. Most likely, it is an unconscious decision, or a long-standing assumption. The individual has visited or lived in particular cities, and has friends and relatives in particular cities. He has always assumed, therefore, that if he were to move, it would be to a particular city. His key decision is therefore the decision to migrate; once that decision is made, the map to the destination city is automatically drawn.

## The Meaning for Policy

This study was not designed to answer the question, "Should there be a migration policy"? Such a decision must be reached by weighing the costs and benefits of rural-to-urban migration. This must include examination of the costs and benefits to the individual, to the communities he leaves and joins, and to society as a whole.

The data collected for analysis in this study are not at all related to the experience of the sending or receiving communities, or to that of society as a whole. The very limited information gathered on the migrant's experience primarily serves to reinforce previous studies. The data show that migrants achieve very substantial economic gains from migration, and that the considerable majority report satisfaction with their move. On the other hand, they also show that many people prefer living in the rural area, and that a significant portion of those who migrate (about 20%) report that they would not make the same decision over again. Any decisions about migration-related policy must clearly be based upon analysis more directly focussed upon enumeration and assessment of all of these costs and benefits.

Rather than determine the need for migration policy, this study was designed to take a preliminary look at the options open to policymakers in case some action is deemed desirable. In the event that it is decided to attempt to influence the rate of rural-to-urban migration--e. g., to attempt to slow down the rate at which poor people move to the cities--the findings of the study suggest the following strategies:

1) Among the older population (over 26) in particular, job opportunities are essential to prevent the type of shocks which force the individual to make a migration decision. Indirect evidence from this study, and the direct findings of some other studies suggest that the primary characteristic of such opportunities must be that they offer steady work.

2) Improvement of rural services such as housing, education and special program assistance might have some effect in reducing out-migration. That effect will be limited, however, if people continue to perceive the city as offering more or better of the same services. Given the high reliance on personal information networks for knowledge about cities, it seems that formal information programs as traditionally designed will not be an effective tool for influencing the critical perceptions.

There is no evidence that improved education would influence people either to migrate or to stay in the rural area. In the sample, the migrants were slightly less well educated than the non-migrants.

3) Rural-to-urban migration which is sparked by a perception that the city offers greater "amenities" is unlikely to be affected by policy action. The exception might be a strategy--probably a growth center strategy--which creates an aura of "big citiness" in smaller cities close to the rural origin areas. Such a strategy might result in a change in patterns of migration destinations. It might also result in a reduction in the rate of rural-to-urban migration by allowing individuals to participate in urban advantages without actually moving their residence.

4) Increasing the geographic range within which a rural resident can participate in employment and consumption opportunities seems likely to reduce the rate of out-migration. Accessibility and transport capability were linked not only to migration behavior but to many of the other experience and perception variables which seemed to influence such behavior.

5) For individuals for whom employment is not a realistic possibility (e. g., the disabled, caretakers of small children), income maintenance programs may tend to keep them in the rural area. There has been much debate over the possible effects of income assistance programs (e. g., the proposed Family Assistance Program) on migration. There is no evidence that income maintenance schemes will lead to increased migration. It is by no means clear what the result of such programs would be, but there are more suggestions that migration would be inhibited than that it would be encouraged.

6) Any increase in an individual's ties to the rural area is likely to reduce his propensity to migrate. Asset ownership in particular seems linked to non-migration, and a policy which enables more poor people to own their own homes is likely to mean that fewer will migrate.

Policy-makers may well be less interested in affecting the rate than the specific directions of rural-to-urban migration. If so, the findings of this study have these principal implications:

1) Redirection of migration depends more on penetrating the highly personal information structure of the potential migrants than upon the actual creation of attractive alternative destinations. The standard formal means of information delivery are unlikely to achieve this. More personal and more out-reaching information techniques are necessary to compete with the existing information structure.

2) It may be necessary to offer a substitute for the personal contact with a city now afforded by the presence of friends or relatives. Possible strategies to accomplish this might be either to employ earlier rural-to-urban migrants to work as outreach workers in their home communities, or to encourage and enable simultaneous migration by relatively large social groups of persons.

3) Attempts to redirect migration to destination points closer to the migrants' home are likely to have the greatest success. The considerable majority of rural residents said they would prefer to stay in their current state or region if they had to migrate.

# CHAPTER 3: POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter, we shall discuss in turn those questions which we feel are most important in determining any national policy on migration. We will recapitulate some of our findings and relate them to the questions identified earlier, deriving implications for the strategies which might be used in a migration policy. It should of course be emphasized that the research presented here addresses only a few of the important questions to be resolved before deciding whether or what kind of migration policy and strategy to adopt.

## A. Deciding Whether or Not a Migration Policy is Needed

Determining whether or not our nation needs policy to influence migration requires first an assessment of the individual and societal benefits and costs of our present migration pattern. This simple fact is often overlooked by both the advocates and opponents of national migration policy. The advocates look at rising welfare costs, social upheaval in the ghetto, and the massive problems of pollution and ecological balance, and argue that a national policy on population distribution is urgently needed. Implicit in their call is the goal of reducing (or at least preventing an increase in) the population concentration in our largest cities and metropolitan areas. As part of the strategy for achieving this goal, they call for encouraging people to remain in rural areas, redirecting people to smaller urban growth centers, building New Towns, or encouraging the outmigration from cities. They tend to forget to ask whether or not the individual whose location is to be manipulated by policy will benefit from this alteration of current residential patterns.

The opponents of migration policy on the other hand look primarily at the individual. They perceive that most migrants have improved their economic situation and their standard of living by migrating, often much more than would have been possible in their origin area. The policy analyst therefore advocates that nothing be done to interfere with the current migration patterns of individuals, on the grounds that existing patterns lead to higher national productivity, economic growth and to the elimination of individual poverty.

Both of these approaches partially miss the point. First, the situation of migration--like the situation of pollution, urban renewal, traffic congestion, and numerous other urban policy problems--involves externalities of behavior. Private costs and benefits of behaviors are not equal to the social costs and benefits. These costs and benefits must be weighed against each other in determining policy. It may be that the social costs of rural migration to large city ghettos will become so high that the migration must be prevented, even at a cost to the individual migrants who might benefit from such moves. There is great need for measurement of these costs and benefits. We have some good quantified measures of the consequences of migration for individual migrants - Census statistics such as those analyzed by Blau and Duncan and being analyzed by Calvin Beale and Gladys Bowles[1]; Social Security data (with the reporting biases and limited information thereof) as analyzed by Hathaway and Perkins and Lowell Gallaway[2]; special surveys such as those done by Lansing and Morgan of the Survey Research

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[1] Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: 1967). Calvin Beale and Gladys Bowles of the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture are currently analyzing the special Census Survey of Economic Opportunity data, collected for OEO in 1967.

[2] Dale E. Hathaway and Brian B. Perkins, "Occupational Mobility and Migration from Agriculture," in the President's Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, Washington: 1968. Lowell E. Callaway, Geographic Labor Mobility in the U.S., 1957-1960.

Center, by TRACOR and the Social Sciences Research Bureau,[1] etc. Even these studies create some decision problems, showing mixed results for rural out-migrants. Such migrants are generally better off by economic measures, but a large number apparently fail and go back to the rural area,[2] and a fair proportion - especially among Appalachian whites - of those who are still in the cities are not completely happy with their migration experience in spite of economic success.[3] The experience and satisfaction with the consequences of the migration decisions appears to vary by stream and by demographic groups within streams.

Unfortunately, we have little or no knowledge of the social costs and benefits of migration. There are some econometric studies showing the correlation between migration flows and various measures of urban development: public service costs, tax rates, unemployment rates,[4] etc. These studies have all the traditional defects of studies using aggregate and historical data, linear assumptions of relationships, and a research design of inference of causation from simple correlations. There exist highly sensible predictions of the effects of continued population concentration and growth, but these studies seldom give quantitative estimates of costs, nor do they make clear the interaction of the migration and urban development process.

In summary, more needs to be known about the social costs of migration before one can appraise the current migration patterns as being on a net basis good or bad.

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1. J. B. Lansing and J. N. Morgan, "The Effect of Geographical Mobility on Income," Journal of Human Resources (Fall, 1967) 2:4. Daniel Price, A Study of Economic Consequences of Rural to Urban Migration (Austin, Texas: TRACOR, 1969). Gene B. Petersen and Laure M. Sharp, Southern Migrants to Cleveland (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1969)

2. Cf. Hathaway and Perkins, op. cit.

3. The Sharp-Peterson and TRACOR studies have shown this, as well as our own data.

4. The most recent example of such research is the model developed by Jay Forrester in his Urban Dynamics, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969.

There is in addition a second point which has been missed by most of those arguing on the merits of a national migration policy. Even if the current migration patterns yield positive benefits for the individual migrants, and if the social costs are not high, one still need not conclude that the policy maker should leave migration patterns alone. It may well be that if individuals did migrate to other places, they could achieve personal benefits as great or greater than those they currently enjoy. Moreover, the social costs might be decreased by alternative migration forms. Most evidence suggests that both kinds of improvements in the current patterns are achievable.

Benefits for individuals - both economic and psychological - are not maximized by migrating to the large cities. The Blau and Duncan study indicates that the greatest gain in income from migration was achieved by individuals who moved to smaller and intermediate size cities. Moreover, this was the only kind of place where rural migrants and ex-farmers experienced gains comparable to the gains of other demographic and occupational groups. Similarly, the Hathaway and Perkins studies have shown that occupational mobility was most often achieved by individuals leaving farms who went relatively short distances (under 50 miles) to find nonagricultural work. Our own data suggest strongly that the general individual preference is to stay as close to home as possible.

Similarly, it is not at all clear that the social costs of migrating are minimized if individuals move to the largest cities. This claim used to be made on the basis of the large economies of scale which supposedly exist in the very large cities. Most recent empirical evidence on economies of scale in the production of public services suggest that - except for water and sanitation - most economies of scale that are achievable can be achieved in cities as small as 50,000.[1] Even the economies of scale in utilities can be achieved through market arrangements like those being used in some California areas, where one jurisdiction produces the service (e.g., water supply) and sells the service to other jurisdictions as well as its own residents.

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[1] See the summary of recent research in the area by Werner Z. Hirsch, "The Supply of Urban Public Services," in Harvey S. Perloff and Lowdon Wingo, eds. Issues in Urban Economics (Baltimore: Resources for the Future) 1968, pp. 477-526.

Last of all, this study has reinforced earlier studies in showing that the migration decision is a two-stage process, not a simple decision based on maximization of individual gain due to urban and rural differences. First, the individual, perceiving problems in his local situation and better conditions in urban areas, decides to leave the rural area, often prompted by a crisis such as the loss of a job or a turning point in the life cycle. Second, the individual chooses his destination, primarily on the basis of information and help from friends and relatives. The individual considers only one or at the most two destinations. His decision is based on the presence of friends and relatives, not on any objective appraisal of the opportunities at one location versus the opportunities at another. In short, the choice of destination is primarily a function of the information structure at the command of the individual. Given this situation it is not surprising that individuals do not necessarily go to the "best" destinations when they move, i.e., places where their prospects of success and their income gains and long-run psychological well-being will be greatest. While individuals are not dissatisfied with the current pattern of making decisions, there is objectively visible room for improving the process and its results.

The basic decision on whether there should be a national policy, then, is still far from obvious. The data does not yet exist to balance the individual and social costs and benefits of the current migration pattern. And in the end, the decision must be based not only on the current net of these costs and benefits but also on the changes in this balance which would be expected from a shift in the migration pattern.

## B. Choosing a Migration Policy - Deciding Where Individuals Should Locate

If one should decide to try to change the current pattern of population distributions and rural-to-urban migration patterns, the problem becomes defining what kind of population distribution one desires over space as an alternative to the current pattern. In abstract terms, the optimum distribution would be that which maximized net social and private benefits. In practical terms, the optimum distribution appears to be some mixture of patterns such that net in-migration begins to occur in cities which are small enough to allow the avoidance of severe social costs, but which are large enough to sustain an economic base capable of providing secure employment and adequate incomes for residents. Moreover, the optimum distribution is one which is capable of being manipulated by policy at some minimum of cost -- both financial and political costs.

Unfortunately, we are beset by another information gap. Not only do we lack information about the social costs generated by migration and different size concentrations of people, but we do not even know the variation of routine private costs across space and population size ranges. What does it cost to build a house in rural areas, in small cities, as compared to large cities? What kind of subsidy is required to get firms to locate in small towns as opposed to large cities? These kinds of issues are not issues of economies of scale. They involve the imputation of transportation costs, materials costs which vary with climate and geography, and so on.

It is because of the contemplation of these costs that many consider rural development -- bringing jobs, better housing, better public services to rural areas -- infeasible. The cost is so great, the number of rural areas so large, that it is argued that the Federal government cannot afford to embark seriously or successfully on rural development efforts. It would be better, the argument goes, to handle the problems of migrants once they arrive in cities. These arguments have strong plausibility, but they have never been backed by any systematic evidence on the relative costs of creating jobs and viable living conditions in different kinds of areas and cities.

A second school of thought has arisen which advocates growth centers. Growth center partisans note that the costs of rural development make such a strategy unfeasible. They also note that the social costs of accepting migration patterns and treating problems only after they arrive in the large cities make that strategy unpalatable at best. Instead, they argue that public policy try to create growth centers out of other urban areas and both redirect rural migration and encourage migration from large cities to these centers.

Unfortunately, the growth center school agrees on little beyond this point. No one has yet offered a widely accepted definition of what a growth center should do or how an existing urban place can be identified as a viable growth center. There is no agreement on how large a growth center should be. The original advocates talked about cities of 250,000 in size; now the researchers would consider cities as small as 50,000 as equally viable. The government agencies and politicians concerned with development have been willing to recognize towns as small as 10,000 as growth centers. The politics of trying to select one of several neighboring cities as a growth center for concentrated public investment usually results in a compromise where all cities become designated and the available public monies are divided among them.

There continues to be disagreement on whether growth centers should be New Towns or whether they should be existing urban centers which public policy will assist to grow larger. Some consensus seems to be emerging on the greater economic viability of using existing urban centers. However, public taste appears to be strongly inclined toward New Towns, and some mixture of strategies is probably appropriate.

There is also some disagreement on whether growth centers should be in the same general region or within the same multi-county area as the origin area which will provide migrants to the center. Early advocates conceived of growth centers as alternative destinations within the regions. A mixture of both ideas, where growth centers are conceived as operating at different levels of the regional central place hierarchy, appears to be emerging.

Finally, there are questions as to whether a growth center should function primarily as a center for migration, as a center for commuting, or for both. The commuting concept is one of the more recent elements in the consideration of growth center strategy.[1] In some respects, the concept was discovered rather than conceived. It was observed that those smaller urban places which had shown great economic success and population growth were the recipients of commuting from a large rural hinterland. A growth center based in part on commuting has some special advantages. It would be able to serve more people. Fewer growth centers would be needed. Less social disruption would be required in occupational mobility. The potential migrant could commute, become accustomed to the urban ways of life, gradually sever his links with his origin area (or not sever links at all), and experience less of a cultural and social shock upon migrating.

Our data have shed some very important light upon some of the above concepts. This research reveals that much of the out-migration of the rural poor is linked to agricultural displacement. The ability to achieve occupational mobility out of agriculture while remaining in the local area is a major factor in reducing migration propensity. Commuting appears to be an important means for individuals to achieve such mobility without migrating. Moreover, even for the young, most of the non-migrants would prefer to remain in the origin area if continued residence were economically feasible. If they have to migrate, they prefer to migrate short distances, maintaining their links to the rural origin area.

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[1] The leading researcher on this concept has been Brian Berry. See his Potential Growth Centers and Growth Center Potentials in the Upper Great Lakes Region, A Report to the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission, Oct. 15, 1968; and Berry and Elaine Neils, "Location, Size, and Shape of Cities as Influenced by Environmental Factors," in Harvey Perloff, ed. The Quality of the Urban Environment. (Baltimore: Resources for the Future), 1969, pp. 257-302.

## C. Choosing Strategies for a Migration Policy

It is in the area of planning strategy that the current research becomes most immediately useful. Once the policymaker has decided where he wants people to move, he must determine how he will influence people to make such a move. Such a determination requires an understanding of why people migrate and also of how they choose their destinations. Our research suggests very strongly that these are separate issues and must be addressed as such by the policymaker.

### 1. Why the Rural Poor Migrate

a. Research Findings. Why people move is a complex issue. Our research shows that economic push factors are very important, but do not differentiate among the poor. The financial stress of being unemployed or poor will compel the mature working adult to seek better economic opportunities elsewhere. Yet individuals appear to be willing to bear a great deal of financial stress and economic displacement before moving. Many unemployed and poor individuals do not migrate. Moreover, in a relatively surprising finding of this study, the non-migrants who stay are much more critical of the rural economy than are the migrants, and they share with the migrants a perception of the urban areas as offering much better economic opportunities. Given these perceptions, why do such individuals not migrate? Indeed, our data would suggest that the proper question should not be "Why do the rural poor migrate", but rather "Why do the rural poor not migrate?"

The answer to the latter question places an important emphasis on participation in the structure of the community, and on perceptions of the urban way of life. Mature workers in the rural economy have a stake in the local area. They own assets which they are not willing to leave behind when migrating. They feel an active part of the community. They have local friends and relatives. They have become accustomed to the way of life. They have psychological security in their current environment, if not economic security. It takes a shock to make them move, not just a poor economic livelihood. Agricultural displacement provided such a shock to millions over the last few decades.

The non-migrant is not a person who sees no flaws in the rural area. Rather, he is even more critical than the migrant of the rural area's labor market and infrastructure services. Perhaps because he does not seriously consider the option of migrating, and therefore feels "stuck with" the rural conditions, his perceptions of those conditions are harsher than those of the individual who leaves. The non-migrant is characterized, however, by a very low rate of belief in the comparative advantages of urban over rural areas. Thus, if he is not being pushed away from the rural area by his perceptions of conditions there, neither is he drawn to the city by a belief in advantages on that side of the fence.

Overall, one finds that the non-migrant is an individual who has social ties and asset interests in the rural area, who is somewhat better off in terms of employment and services, who has not experienced severe shocks of dislocation and who does not perceive the urban environment as a much better place to live.

This understanding of the non-migrant as an individual who chooses not to migrate in spite of the perceived disadvantages of rural life helps to place the heavy out-migration of youth in the proper perspective. The "bright lights" attraction of the city was indeed important among youth, especially among those who had found employment. Indeed, youth, being better educated and having more exposure to formal sources of information, were much more praiseworthy of the city relative to the rural area, along almost all indicators, than their elders. At the same time, young people -- in spite of greater education -- had lower incomes, higher rates of unemployment, and more underemployment than their elders. They had fewer assets or family ties to hold them to the area, and the few assets (and in the case of the blacks, family responsibilities) they did have could be left in the charge of older family members.

Moreover, the young people were confronting a shock directly comparable to that of agricultural displacement for their elders. They were finishing school, obtaining their first jobs, and getting married. In short, they were breaking their relationship of dependency and becoming self-sufficient adults. This transitional stage from dependency to self-sufficient maturity represents a major social and psychological shock directly comparable to the economic shock of agricultural displacement. The sociologist discusses such phenomena as "life-cycle" stages and effects. Whatever one wants to call the experience, it is a turning point for the individual, and as such migration becomes a considered option. Moreover, in the rural areas we investigated, the life-cycle transition into adulthood is coupled with an environment of few jobs, bad jobs, and poor services. With much incentive, few resistences, and a catalytic shock factor present, it is not surprising that the young migrate in such large numbers.

b. Policy-Implications. If the goal of policy is to hold people in their rural areas, our findings on causes of migration suggest several courses for policy.

First, jobs are the key to preventing the economic shocks which drive the mature adult to migration. Creating a viable economy in which the rural individual can participate is thus a sine qua non of staving off migration. It is not so important where these jobs are created, as that the rural residents have access to exploit them. Thus, our data suggests that commuting in rural areas is an important way by which non-migrants ride over economic shocks and exploit a broader and more diverse labor market (and thus a labor market where they can better match jobs to their skill potential). The emphasis is not so much on job quality, but on job availability and job security. Those aspects of job quality which do have salience are the steadiness of work and the pay. The pay demands of the rural industrial worker are surprisingly low, however.

In creating a more viable economy for participation by the rural worker, several policy tools were specifically demonstrated as effective. Individuals who used public employment agencies were much less likely to migrate. Apparently these agencies, which only serviced a small portion of the workers in our sample, are relatively effective when they are used -- at least in comparison with the informal job search techniques of most workers. Also, individuals who had received vocational training were far less likely to migrate. Such training appears to have been linked to higher incomes and better jobs, and thus defused the economic incentives to leave.

Second, improvement of services -- housing, schools, and government help -- should be a part of any effort to stem out-migration, but should play a secondary part to the role of jobs. The amenity infrastructure of the rural environment is important not because it is so bad that individuals are forced to leave. Rather its importance stems from the perceptions that individuals, particularly the young, hold of the urban environment. The urban environment is currently considered so superior, that when there is an economic or social shock and when there are no restraining ties, the individual has every incentive to leave. An improvement in the rural standard of living would reduce the disparity in urban and rural conditions, and by reducing the incentives to leave, might prompt older individuals to ride out economic shocks and younger people to investigate more closely the viability of staying in the rural area.

Third, the "bright lights" attraction of the city is a strong force among youth, given their stage of life-cycle transition. Even if a reasonable job and standard of living were provided in the rural area, many young people would still leave. If the goal is to get them to stay, not only must jobs and services be provided, but some substitute for the bright lights attraction of the city must be offered. It may well be that local urban growth centers are the only answer for trying to stem the heavy out-migration of such youth. If such centers were of sufficient size to offer broader social and economic opportunities, as well as an "urban image," young people might well commute or migrate to such centers. Jobs and services would need to be available in such a way that centers could tie the young person quickly into his environment.

Fourth, any attack on jobs, services, or the bright lights pull of cities must cope with the critical problem of inaccessibility and low transportation capabilities among the rural poor. Accessibility was directly linked to employment history and perceptions of services, rural problems, and urban-rural differences. Similarly, transport capability was directly linked to employment history and the ability to ride out economic shocks. Unfortunately, the level of both accessibility and transport capability were quite low.

It should also be noted that if a growth center strategy were adopted for trying to cope economically with the first three program needs discussed above, its effectiveness would be greatly impeded by the low level of accessibility and transport capability that exists among the rural poor and particularly the migrants. Indeed, it may well be that many of the problems in the rural area that confront an individual could be made much less severe if the individual's transport capability were increased. Our data shows that commuters were far more likely to obtain better jobs, to survive agricultural displacement, and to decide not to migrate.

Such commuting is obviously related to general transport capability. Had the transport capability of the migrants been greater, many of them -- especially the mature workers -- might have been able to commute to obtain jobs and services and not have needed to migrate. Thus, an attack on inaccessibility and low transport capabilities in rural areas might also be an effective short run strategy for stemming migration while efforts to create new jobs, finance services, and establish growth centers are being launched.

Fifth, for those rural individuals for whom employment is not a realistic possibility -- the elderly, women with large families, etc. -- income transfers appear to be an effective device for stemming migration. Nonemployment-linked sources of income were associated with remaining in the rural area. In contrast, individuals whose sources of income were strongly dependent upon employment had a much greater propensity to migrate.

There was little evidence of individuals moving to cities to increase their welfare benefits. There was evidence on the other hand of people moving to the cities under severe economic pressure which might have been abated had the rural area offered temporary welfare benefits. These migrants were not moving to cities in order to go on welfare. Rather, they were leaving the rural area to try to escape precisely the kinds of situations with which welfare was designed to cope.

In any case, we find no evidence that the proposed national welfare reforms will encourage large-scale migration by giving individuals the financial means and economic security to migrate. Instead, our evidence suggests that the effect of such a plan would be to allow individuals to remain in the rural areas riding out temporary crises and improving their consumption capabilities.

Sixth, anything which can be done to increase individual's ties to the rural area will tend to reduce migration. The ownership of assets -- a home or a farm -- strongly increased the propensity to remain in the rural area. Measures to increase property or home ownership or to hinder the abandonment of assets appear to be effective tools for attacking migration. This of course works both ways. If the goal is to encourage migration, compensation subsidies or the creation of markets perhaps (with the government as buyer of last resort) for the disposal of the individuals assets could become important policy tools. Another approach to stemming migration appears to be the stimulation of involvement in community action programs and community self-help. Participation and contact with poverty and community action programs were significant factors -- according to our data -- in reducing the propensity to migrate.

## 2. How the Rural Poor Choose their Destinations

a. Research Findings. Any policy goal of redirecting migration to other places requires not only that one act upon real world conditions but that one act upon the information structure by which the individual perceives and evaluates real world conditions. Our research suggests both that the information structure is far more important than real world conditions in determining destinations and that the information structure may be hard to penetrate through public policy. Individuals decide to leave rural areas; where they choose to go is a secondary aspect of the basic decision to leave. The choice is not made from a wide range of conscious alternatives. Indeed, in most cases, only one destination is considered. That destination appeals to the migrant primarily because he has friends and/or relatives there.

Choosing a destination on the basis of the residence there of friends and relatives is not irrational from the standpoint of the migrant. Most of his information about urban areas centers on that destination. Such information comes free and often in the normal flow of social routine. The acquisition of information about other places involves costs -- time, effort, the psychological strain of eventually having to make a decision, and occasionally money. Moreover, friends and relatives in a city provide hard concrete benefits -- sources for job leads, temporary shelter and food, an hospitable social environment for adjusting to the city's way of life.

The social setting of the information structure makes it hard to penetrate through public policy. Even if the policymaker could provide new information to the potential migrant, there is a good possibility that the migrant would tend to discount it as less reliable than the information provided by his friends. It is not clear how much of a discount would be applied, nor is it clear what happens when there is a conflict between the information of public authorities and the information of friends and relatives. Migrants reported contact so seldom with the former kinds of information that it is impossible to measure the tradeoffs he makes.

Several policy courses are suggested by our findings.

First, redirection of migration primarily depends upon penetrating the information structure of the migrant, not upon making some growth center or large city more attractive than the large city which is the current destination of a stream of migrants. The migrant's most conscious decision is to leave the rural area, not to go to an urban area. The choice of destination is haphazard, although not irrational.

Second, an attack on the information structure should be three-pronged: providing information about the (policy-preferred) destination to the potential migrant, making it credible, and reducing the need to depend on economic and psychological support from friends and relatives.

The provision of information is the more easily handled task. Since many of the potential migrants are young and better educated, the media and the schools are useful places to start providing information. The potential migrant will not come on his own initiative to a public agency to seek out information on destinations. Rather the availability of information must be brought to his attention. This last point suggests not only the need for more aggressive use of formal institutions for promulgating information, but the need for personal outreach, service, referral, and follow-up. An outreach approach could also add credibility to the information if the information were provided by community workers similar to the potential migrant himself. The importance of information credibility cannot be over-emphasized.

The reduction of the need to feel dependent on friends and relatives is a more difficult task. "Newcomer programs" may be a major step in this direction. If job and shelter can be arranged prior to migrating, of if there is at least a fixed contact point at the destination for assistance in providing shelter and finding jobs, the migrant's wariness of moving to a strange place would be considerably abated.

A second tactic has been suggested by Abt Associates' work in Canada -- the stimulation of group migration. Migration decisions are customarily thought of on an individual basis. Most discussion of migration policy speaks of manipulating migration decisions on an individual basis. Yet all our evidence suggests that the choice of destination is in many respects a social act. The individual chooses a destination where he will remain in the company of familiar friends and relatives, people sharing similar values and attitudes.

In the Canadian effort to develop growth centers in the Maritime provinces, individuals were asked in the course of research and policy simulation how much money they would require before they would be willing to move to a neighboring growth center. The amounts required were exorbitant by any measure of public fiscal capability for subsidy. Then, the same question was readdressed but this time to groups of individuals where the individual understood that if he moved, he would be moving with many of his fellow townspeople. The amount of money required to entice the move fell dramatically. It was clear that what was important to the individual was not remaining in his current geographical location, but remaining in his current social network of friends and activities. That network provided basic psychological security and social support and was valued very highly.

Conceivably, this same lesson could be applied to any effort to influence migration. Information and solicitations to migrate could be addressed to groups of potential migrant individuals(e. g., high school classes, groups of neighbors, church organizations), not simply to people on an individual basis. When consulting with a person on an individual basis, a "migration counselor" might stress that other people are also contemplating moving, trying to draw the individual into joint counseling and planning with other potential migrants.

Third, the closer to home that a migration policy attempts to redirect migration, the greater its prospects for success. Individuals in the rural areas prefer to stay close to their origin area if they do have to move. For mature workers and to a lesser extent for young people, the non-availability of jobs anywhere near the origin area is what drives them to distant cities. The amount and quality of services and jobs which were to be provided at the growth center to attract migrants is reduced, the closer the growth center is to the origin area.

## D. Overview and Limitations of This Study

Our research cannot permit us to recommend whether or not a migration policy should be adopted, or what the policy (e.g., rural development, growth centers, or gilding the ghetto) should be. Such judgments depend on appraisals of social costs and benefits and of the amount of resources which the country can afford to allocate to any policy on population redistribution.

We stand on firmer ground when we talk about program mix and implementation strategies for any migration policy. These issues are contingent upon an understanding of the causes of rural to urban migration, and that has been the focus of this research.

At the same time, we admit to several qualifications upon our study's findings. We attempted to survey the rural poor. We inferred causation from what the statistician would call within-group variance and from what the policy-maker might call differences between poor migrants and poor non-migrants. The fact remains, however, that the rural poor, migrants and non-migrants, may have more in common with each other than they do with the rest of the rural population. Their weighting of economic and service aspects, their ties to social structure and to assets may be fundamentally different from the perceptions and experiences of other non-poor groups in the society. We thus make no attempt to generalize our results to the entire rural population.

# PART II:

# CAUSES OF MIGRATION

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## Notes on Part II

The central effort of this study was directed toward the identification and analysis of the causes of rural-to-urban migration. The chapters in this Part present the results of that portion of the research.

Chapter 4 presents the framework for the analysis of causes, and pulls together the numerous findings. The following chapters describe in more detail the analysis of each of the factors which was hypothesized to be critical to the migration decision. Most past migration research had suggested the importance of employment and economic questions, and previous Abt Associates work had suggested to us that transportation questions were of almost equal importance. The greatest number of hypotheses, and consequently the greatest amount of data collection and analysis, were therefore related to these three topics. The intent in designing the duty, however, was to test hypotheses relating to all areas in which significant influence by public policy or program action is normally feasible. Thus, the following chapters deal with housing, education, medical care and special program questions. Chapter 12 deals with a group of questions which were considered possibly important, but less easily influenced by policy, and on which less data was collected.

Sentences presenting key frequency distributions or correlations among the data have been underlined to assist the reader. The standard demographic controls were used in all analyses; in general, the results of analysis with controls are presented only when significant differences were observed. Levels of statistical significance are normally specified in footnotes; where correlations are discussed without such footnotes, they can be assumed to be significant at the .05 level.

# CHAPTER 4: CAUSES

The concept of the two-step migration decision -- the decision to migrate and the separate choice of destination -- has already been suggested. Choice of destination seems to be determined through the information structure available to the individual. Most individuals do not consider alternatives; they go to cities where they have friends and relatives who provide temporary economic support (e. g., shelter, job leads) and psychological support. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 13.

This chapter will focus on the more complex question of why poor people decide to migrate. First, we will present our theoretical approach to the problem. Analyses using two types of data -- migrants' reported reasons for moving, and their perceptions of rural and urban areas -- will be presented. Both types of data will be used to develop a general model of the causes of migration. In subsequent chapters, we shall explore in greater detail the particular roles which a variety of the economic and service structure factors play in inducing migration.

## A. Theoretical Approach -- Emphasis on Perceptions

Investigators of migration have traditionally used one of three approaches. First, they have used data on individuals aggregated over geographical areas. They have correlated net migration flows with levels of other indicators (unemployment rates, per capita income, substandard housing, etc.) and inferred causation from the correlations. The second approach has been to use individual data such as that available in the Census or Social Security records. Such data gives some detail on the demographic characteristics, geographical location, and economic experiences of the individual (e. g., income, occupation, employment status). Reasons for moves are inferred either from correlations with individual characteristics (e. g., unemployed people more often migrate) or from changes in the economic condition of the individual following his move (e. g., becoming employed, increasing income). The third approach has been to survey individuals and ask them why they have left. Such direct questions usually result in study conclusions that individuals primarily move for economic reasons.

In this study, we attempted to go beyond demographic characteristics, economic experiences, aggregate characteristics of origins and destinations, and stated reason for move. Our primary interest was in probing the individuals' perceptions. There are several reasons for doing this. The traditional approaches have failed to explain why some people, whose rational interest would be to migrate, do not migrate. Nor do the traditional approaches explain why so many rational people rationally chose to migrate to particular cities and yet make "bad" migration decisions. Indications of "bad decisions" are seen in the extent of return migration,[1] the stated dissatisfaction of the individuals with their migration move or with their destination choice, a decline in income, a change in status from self-sufficiency to dependency upon the public welfare rolls, remigration to other cities within a short period after the first migration, and so on. Since the traditional approaches failed to explain this, we believed that the introduction of perceptions would be a sensible direction in which to aim the research design.

Second, it was hypothesized that the cause of migration was probably not a single factor, but a set of factors. Some factors would no doubt be found to be directly related to migration. Others would depend for their effect on interaction; that is, they would show up as influential causes of migration only when considered in combination with other variables. The traditional approach of directly probing the migrant for his reasons for moving was considered unlikely to be productive in identifying "syndromes" of factors or interaction effects.

Further, it is known that individuals are frequently neither lucid nor perceptive in explaining their own behavior. Thus, an individual might be "fed up" with living in the rural area for a collection of reasons concerning his job or lack of job, his consumption opportunities, his social interactions, his general liking of the environment, and so on. He might move to the city, where the critical immediate need would be for a new source of income, a new job. Because of this immediate need, and because of the importance of the job search to the long-term "success" of the migration, the job search might receive the great majority of his conscious attention at the time of migration. When asked at some later time why he migrated, such an individual might well think only of the fact that he had moved "to get a job." One way to deal with this problem of limited superficial response is the depth interview, in which the individual gives a longer spontaneous or prompted discussion of the situation of his migration. The preferable alternative was believed to probe for attitudes in connection with a number of specific areas, areas which had been hypothesized to be related to migration and which were known to be manipulable by policy.

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[1] Obviously, all return migration does not reflect "bad" initial decisions. Nonetheless, studies such as that of Hathaway and Perkins have linked at least some return migration with negative economic experiences in the city. Dale E. Hathaway and Brian B. Perkins, "Farm Labor Mobility, Migration, and Income Distribution", American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 50:342-56 (May, 1968).

This last point raises the third reason for moving into the area of perceptions. The traditional correlation approaches allowed one perhaps to accurately predict or statistically "explain" a large portion of aggregate group behavior. Prediction is not the same as understanding causation, however. The policy maker who wants to manipulate behavior must try to understand the causes of behavior. Because the primary concern in the study was to provide assistance to the policy maker in formulating migration policies which might change the individual's behavior, it was felt necessary to probe perceptions and causation.

As theorists have probed migration behaviors in the past, they have defined "push" and "pull" forces as alternative or complementary influences upon migration behavior. "Push forces" were problems in the rural area--whether in employment, amenities, or whatever--which caused a person to wish to leave the area without particular regard for where he might go. "Pull forces" were those conditions in other areas, which by comparison with the conditions in the current area of residence, were so attractive that the individual wished to move to the other area. The individual was not so much displeased with conditions in the origin area, as attracted by conditions in the destination area.

We decided to test a series of broad models which might explain migration. We postulated that one or more of the following factors was either the dominant influence or part of a set of influences upon the migration decision of individuals:

- employment experience in the rural area
  - e. g. unemployment
  - underemployment
  - occupation
  - economic displacement (i. e. farming, mining)
  - income
- perceptions of rural labor market problems
  - e. g. job quality measures
  - job availability measures
  - job discrimination
- perceptions of urban-rural differences - labor market
- perceptions of rural infrastructure problems
  - housing
  - health
  - schools
  - welfare and government help
  - transportation
- perceptions of urban-rural differences - infrastructure
  - housing
  - health
  - schools
  - welfare and government help
- perception of rural problems - amenities
  - discrimination
  - attitudes of community
- perception of urban-rural differences - amenities
  - things to do - "bright lights"
  - discrimination
- personal characteristics
  - asset ownership
  - transportation capability
  - education
  - marital status/life cycle status
- characteristics of the real world origin area
  - economy
  - services and infrastructure
  - urbanity and proximity to cities
- characteristics of the real world destination
  - economy
  - services and infrastructure
  - urbanity and city size
  - distance from origin area

behaviors linking individual to various environments
    job search methods
    friends and relatives in cities
    commuting
    contact with government programs

Clearly many of these elements are interwined. One might well expect perceptions of the rural labor market or of rural housing to correlate closely with the individual's own experience in employment and housing. Similarly, one might expect the individual's own experience to correlate with indicators of the real world rural economy and housing situation. Alternatively, one might expect perceptions of accessibility problems and commuting to correlate closely with transport capability. In turn, one might expect accessibility to correlate closely with the individuals' experience and consumption of services, infrastructure, and amenities and thus with his perceptions of problems in these areas. Again, one might expect the relative importance of the variables above to shift with the age and sex and life cycle status of the individual.

All of these assertions are sensible theoretical hypotheses. It was decided, however, to treat them as hypotheses, rather than as self-evident maxims. As the following chapters shall show, this decision proved to be wise. Perceptions do tend to conform to experiences, but the relationship is one of greater or lesser tendency rather than of one-to-one correlation. We have tried to distinguish cause from correlation, by theoretically specifying intervening variables and the sequence or hierarchy of causal influence. This has been done primarily by introducing and testing variables as controls according to theoretical specification. The size of the sample made such controls feasible with enough degrees of freedom retained to assess the statistical significance of results. Multivariate analysis techniques have been used on a heuristic basis to further establish causation.[1]

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[1] See Chapter 20 for explanation of specific techniques.

B. Stated Reason for Move

The first major type of information on the causes of migration is provided by the words of the individuals themselves. Table 4.1 below shows the responses of migrants to the question "What was the main reason you had for leaving [the rural area]?"

Table 4.1

Principal Reason for Leaving: Migrant

| | Southeast | Appalachian | Southwest | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | Total |
| Economic | 47.2 | 62.9 | 53.4 | 54.8 |
| Family | 30.6 | 24.7 | 31.7 | 29.8 |
| Education | 4.9 | 1.2 | 2.6 | 2.8 |
| Housing | 3.1 | 1.2 | 0.3 | 1.5 |
| Social Environment and Life Style | 9.7 | 4.3 | 5.8 | 4.4 |
| Other (Public Services and Personal) | 4.5 | 2.8 | 6.1 | 6.7 |
| N= | 288 | 321 | 918 | |

As is readily observable, the predominant stated motivation is economic. The principal reasons in this category are the search for a job, the move to an offered or established job, and the move caused by loss of a job. The economic motivation is actually understated by the figures above, because over half of the persons responding in the second largest category (family reasons) were wives whose move was occasioned by the husband's job search. When husband's main reason is substituted for the interviewee's in these cases, under the assumption that he was actually the "decisionmaker", economic causes for move rise to 58% for the Southeast, 74% for Apppalachians, and 69% for the Southwest; and family reasons, in turn, become less important. This almost exactly parallels the pattern of responses given by residents in the rural area when they stated why they thought they "might move" to the city in the future. (See Table 4.2 below.)

Table 4.2

Principal Reason for Potential Move: Non-Migrant

| | Southeast | Appalachian | Southwest | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | Total |
| Economic | 58.3 | 82.1 | 66.3 | 68.4 |
| Family | 12.5 | 9.0 | 3.4 | 7.9 |
| Education | 2.8 | - | 2.2 | 1.8 |
| Housing | 4.2 | - | - | 1.3 |
| Medical | - | 1.5 | 6.7 | 3.1 |
| Social Environment and Life Style | 20.8 | 13.5 | 8.9 | 12.3 |
| Other (Public Services and Personal) | 1.4 | 4.0 | 12.3 | 5.2 |
| N= | 72 | 67 | 89 | |

There are no major differences between the stated reasons for move of migrants and non-migrants, but there are significant differences between streams. Appalachians consistently show more concern with the economic advantages of the move; blacks more often give reasons relating to the excitement and social life of the big city. The data provides no evidence that blacks move primarily to escape discrimination. Nor are the results consistent with the much-publicized idea that migration is motivated by differential welfare payments.

The data also indicate that it is by no means necessarily true that migration is the result of a single reason or type of motivation. Responses to a question on secondary reasons for moving focus to a notably lesser extent on economics. Concerns about the social style and general opportunities in the city predominate as the supportive factor in migration. Respondents most commonly mention that they got tired of the confinement of the small town, that they wanted to travel, meet some new people, or to make a new start where there were better opportunities. In addition, a significant number of people, primarily from the Southeast, cite housing problems as the supportive cause for moving. Another 7%, particularly the black stream again, state that they moved for educational reasons--because they had finished high school, or because they were planning to take courses or job training in the city. Only 7% of the blacks explicitly mention discrimination as supportive incentive to leave.

Table 4. 3

Secondary Reason for Leaving: Migrant

| | Southeast | Appalachian | Southwest | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | Total |
| Economic | 29.5 | 29.1 | 31.6 | 30.0 |
| Family | 13.4 | 24.4 | 16.8 | 18.5 |
| Education | 8.7 | 2.3 | 12.3 | 7.6 |
| Housing | 10.1 | 3.5 | 4.5 | 5.9 |
| Social Environment and General Opportunities | 28.1 | 33.1 | 23.9 | 28.5 |
| Discrimination | 7.4 | - | 0.6 | 2.7 |
| Other (Public Services and Personal) | 2.7 | 7.0 | 10.3 | 6.8 |
| N= | 149 | 172 | 155 | |

Overall, for both migrant and potential migrant, stated reasons for move are influenced most strongly by whether the respondent is male or female. 73% of the males in the sample cite economic motivations compared to 46% of the females, whereas 39% of the women give family concerns compared to 9% of the men. There is little difference on items relating to the social environment or physical living conditions.

Differences in stated reason also exist between age groups, but not with regard to economic and family reasons. Rather, when they cite reasons other than economic or family, they vary in the kinds of reasons they cite. The younger age groups are more likely to be influenced by social and educational factors (12.0% for the youngest group, compared to 2.3% for the oldest), although as a secondary factor a small percentage of the middle-aged respondents expressed concern over educational benefits for their children. The 26-39 year old group, mostly married, show a primary interest in the jobs and financial aspects of migration, and also in housing conditions. The over-40 group expresses most concern about the general living conditions, particularly the medical support[1], to be found in the city. These patterns are evident in the supportive reasons for move as well.

The effect of income level on stated reason is less clear. There is a tendency for the lowest income groups to move for economic reasons (62% of the "less than $3,000/year" group compared to 56% of the "5,000+" group), and for the highest income group to cite educational and social reasons. On the supportive level, this overall pattern is much more definite. As with age, income level does not distinguish between those who move for family reasons (marriage, to be with members of the family, to get away from problems with home), and those who do not.

Nearly a third of the people interviewed in the rural areas had previously lived in the city. As the table below illustrates, about half of these people come back because they were homesick--they didn't like the strangeness and rush of the city, they wanted to see their families again. An additional one-quarter of the returnees, particularly in the Appalachian stream, indicated that they returned because they lost their jobs, got tired of working, found living costs too high, or developed a better situation in the rural area. A number of people returned to the comfort of home when they became ill in the city. A number of women expressed the feeling that the countryside and country schools were a healthier place to raise children.

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[1] Personal interviews in the rural area indicate that "support" for the ill is seen more in terms of being taken care of by younger members of the family than in terms of the medical facilities available.

Table 4.4

Principal Reason for Return to Rural Area

| | Southeast | Appalachian | Southwest | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | Total |
| Economic | 17.1 | 32.4 | 25.7 | 26.2 |
| Homesick | 57.1 | 49.5 | 49.6 | 51.5 |
| Living Conditions | 10.0 | 9.9 | 9.9 | 10.0 |
| Medical | 7.1 | 3.6 | 4.0 | 4.6 |
| Other | 9.6 | 4.5 | 10.9 | 7.3 |
| N= | 70 | 111 | 101 | |

## C. Analysis of Perceptions

As we have indicated, the primary effort in data collection was not to find out migrants' consciously remembered reasons for moving, but to find out about perceptions and experiences which might have been relevant to migration. There were three primary series of data used in migrant/non-migrant comparisons:

> employment experience data, including employment history and employment status at the time of migration (or at the time of interview, for non-migrants);
>
> problem perception data, in which respondents' attitudes toward conditions in the rural area were collected; and
>
> urban advantage perception data, in which respondents were asked whether they thought the city was better than the country in certain key employment and service areas.

Analysis of this data was based on a comparison of migrant and non-migrant responses. Where statistically significant differences appeared, patterns were examined for their relevance to causal hypotheses. Contingency tables and non-parametric statistics were used to measure non-randomness and strength of association. The analyses of individual hypothesized areas of causation will be discussed in later chapters. To summarize, the conclusions were that:

*Employment experience could explain only a small portion of the migration decisions in our sample, and then primarily for the prime-age and older adults (over age 26). The latter age groups have a much lower probability of migrating, however, and compose a much smaller percentage of the total migrant population than one would expect from their proportional weight in the rural population.

*Perceptions of rural labor market problems were negatively but at times strongly correlated with migration. That is, those who were most critical of the rural labor market tended not to be the ones who migrated.

*Perceptions of urban-rural differences in labor markets were weakly but positively correlated with migration. Such perceptions could not explain a significant portion of the migration decisions of our sample because both migrants and non-migrants tended to agree strongly that the urban labor market was superior to the rural labor market.

*Perceptions of problems in rural infrastructure presented a mixed picture. Perceptions of problems in rural housing and health, like perceptions of problems in the rural job market, were strongly but negatively correlated with migration. Individuals who were strongly critical of rural infrastructure tended not to migrate. There was no relationship either way between migration and perception of problems with regard to schools. On the other hand, receipt of government assistance -- whether job search help, vocational training, or poverty program assistance -- was very strongly associated with non-migrating. Indeed, the receipt of such assistance explained as large a portion of the sample's migration decisions as did employment experience variables (e. g., unemployment, income).

*Perceptions of urban-rural differences in the quality or availability of infrastructure explained a very large portion of the sample's migration decisions. Indeed, such perceptions explained three times as much of the decisions as did employment experience. Perception of urban advantage over the rural area with regard to housing and schools was the key variable with explanatory power. Perception of urban advantage in the availability of government assistance and welfare was positively but very weakly correlated with migration. Perception of urban advantage with regard to health services had no relationship to whether or not a person migrated.

*Perception of urban-rural differences with regard to amenities and life style explained by far the greatest share of any explanatory variable of the migration decisions of our sample. This perception was highly correlated with youth, of course. All the data suggest that the "brights lights" theory explains a great part of the migration decisions of the young and therefore of the overall migrant population. Perception of less discrimination was relatively strongly associated with migration among Southeastern blacks, but not among the Southwestern Spanish-Americans.

*Accessibility, and especially transport capability and commuting, were strongly associated with migration. Individuals did not directly perceive any general accessibility problems. However, when an index was constructed of their perception of accessibility difficulties with regard to participation in production and consumption activities (e.g., jobs, health care, schools), the index was found to be positively and often strongly correlated with their perception of problems in the rural area, and somewhat more weakly but positively correlated with their employment experience and perception of urban-rural differences. The accessibility index was positively and significantly associated with migration, having almost the same strength as employment experience. Measures of the interviewee's transport capability and his commuting status, however, were even more strongly associated with migration. Commuters and individuals with transport capability tended not to commute. The explanatory power of these variables was more than twice as great as the power of the employment experience variables. Upon investigation, it was found that commuting was strongly associated with successful occupational mobility out of agriculture and with the acquisition of more highly skilled jobs.

*Agricultural background similarly had a very strong association with migration, farmers tending to migrate. There was no significant trend by other occupations or with miners, however, Apparently, agricultural dislocation is one of the primary determinants of migration. The explanatory power of the variable was more than twice as great as employment experience.

*The ownership of assets in the rural area was very strongly and negatively associated with migration. Asset owners, regardless of age, tended not to migrate. The explanatory power of the variable approached that of the perception of urban-rural differences in infrastructure.

All of the above factors were correlated and compared by demographic group. Sex had little influence on the migration decision, except for the important fact that married women followed their husbands' decisions. Female heads of household had different employment experiences, but the pattern of the relationships between various explanatory variables and migration was the same as for men. Education had relatively little influence on migration, although it did have significant influence on perceptions of rural problems and employment experience. Income was positively correlated with perceptions of problems, but the relationship was surprisingly weak. Perceptions, accessibility, assets, and farm background are legitimate, strong variables in their own right, not simply intervening variables indicating the underlying causal influence of income. Age, of course, is the major differentiator within the population, particularly with regard to perceptions but also somewhat with regard to employment experience. Young people suffer worse employment experiences than the general population, but employment experience for them is not significantly associated with migration. Similarly, young people tend to be less critical of the rural area, both with regard to the labor market and to infrastructure, than older people. On the other hand, young people perceive urban advantages much more frequently than older people, particularly with regard to amenities. Young people in general tend to migrate much more frequently than older people.

The conformity and consistency of perceptions with experience left much to be desired. Perceptions of the rural labor market were positively but weakly correlated with employment experience. Perceptions of rural problems generally had little correlation with perceptions of urban-rural differences. There was at best a weak and often a non-significant correlation between stated economic reason for move and any of employment experience, perception of rural problems or perception of urban-rural differences.

## Multivariate Analyses

To test these conclusions further, regression analysis was run on different sets of the key variables for the various populations of interest in the study. These populations included the three different streams, four age categories (under 21, 21-25, 26-40, and over 40), and varying other demographic or life cycle classifications (married, single, etc.) From the regressions, discriminant functions were calculated and used to sort observations into the two general classes of migrant and non-migrant.[1] The sorting serves as a test of the predictive power of the variables which our study isolated.

Tables 4. 5 through 4. 6 summarize the most important regressions, where the complete set of independent variables was used for the total population, for the three separate streams, and for the four age groups. In general, the results of the multivariate analyses are consistent with the conclusions reached from the analysis using contingency tables, control variables, and nonparametric statistics.

In interpreting the relative influence of the different hypothesized "causal variables", we shall focus on the standardized regression coefficient.[2] From the tables summarizing the multivariate analyses the following points can be noted:

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1. It must be remembered that the classification of "non-migrant" is rather broad. It defines individuals residing and interviewed in the rural areas as "non-migrants", or at least individuals who have chosen not to live in the city. This group of rural residents includes not only rural dwellers who have never moved, but also return migrants from urban areas, individuals who have moved from one rural area to another rural area, and individuals who are contemplating migration to urban areas, but have not yet moved.

2. The standardized regression coefficient, or Beta-weight, compares a unit change in one variable with a unit change in another. The Beta-weights are adjusted partial correlation coefficients, such that changes in the dependent variable are measured in terms of standard deviation units for each of the other variables. Cf. Hubert M. Blalock, *Social Statistics*, N. Y. (1960), pp. 344-345.

## Table 4.5

## Multivariate Analysis Using Urban/Rural Residence as Dependent Variable - I

| Variable | Total | | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. |
| More to do in city | .303 | .000 | .225 | .000 | .359 | .000 | .217 | .000 |
| Age in rural area | .161 | .000 | .146 | .000 | .170 | .000 | .188 | .000 |
| Heard of voc. training available | -.158 | .000 | -.184 | .000 | -.067 | .011 | -.182 | .000 |
| Perceived low quality rural housing | -.146 | .000 | -.086 | .007 | -.158 | .000 | -.096 | .000 |
| Perceived better housing in city | .145 | .000 | .264 | .000 | ns | >.400 | .145 | .000 |
| Perceived rural school problems | -.137 | .000 | -.078 | .015 | -.117 | .000 | -.260 | .000 |
| Perceived not enough rural doctors | -.122 | .000 | -.146 | .000 | -.134 | .000 | -.074 | .006 |
| Had background in farming | .114 | .000 | .050 | ns(.109) | .199 | .000 | .108 | .000 |
| Perceived no steady jobs in rural | -.114 | .000 | -.095 | .007 | -.159 | .000 | -.073 | .010 |
| Perceived accessibility problem | .106 | .001 | .117 | .001 | .104 | .000 | .081 | .003 |
| Perceived job discrimination in rural | .096 | .000 | .028 | ns(.371) | ns | >.400 | .121 | .000 |
| Perceived more programs available in city | -.084 | .000 | -.151 | .000 | ns | >.400 | -.034 | ns(.176) |
| Unemployed, seeking work | .064 | .000 | ns | >.400 | .049 | .086 | .122 | .000 |
| Perceived better schools in city | -.064 | .007 | .082 | ns(.103) | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Commuted in rural | -.060 | .003 | -.121 | -.121 | -.021 | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Commuting capability | .060 | .004 | - ns | >.400 | .098 | .006 | .031 | ns(.212) |
| Underemployment, hours/week | -.056 | .001 | -.089 | .008 | -.040 | ns(.131) | -.058 | .020 |
| Owned fixed assets, rural | -.055 | .000 | -.070 | .032 | -.031 | ns(.237) | -.068 | .009 |
| Perceived less discrimination in city | .054 | .001 | .120 | .000 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Perceived better pay in city | -.045 | .006 | ns | >.400 | -.115 | .000 | ns | >.400 |
| Underemployment, seasonal work | .043 | .016 | .078 | .019 | .050 | .074 | -.027 | ns(.301) |
| Received vocational training | -.030 | .067 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | -.049 | .050 |
| Perceived steadier work in city | .027 | .104 | .057 | .066 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Sex | -.022 | ns | ns | >.400 | -.068 | .010 | -.056 | ns(.157) |
| Perceived no rural career advance. | .021 | ns | ns | >.400 | -.023 | .387 | .061 | .019 |
| Perceived better health care in city | -.016 | ns | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | -.021 | ns(.393) |
| Perceived inadequate pay in rural | -.009 | ns | ns | >.400 | .050 | .075 | -.046 | .086 |
| Perceived not enough rural jobs | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | -.062 | .014 |
| Family income in-rural-area | ns | >.400 | .049 | ns(.150) | .027 | .328 | -.024 | ns (.364) |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Regression Constant/degrees of freedom | 1.6905 | 1814 | 1.7533 | 570 | 1.6531 | 615 | 1.8488 | 587 |
| Multiple Correlation/R-square | .7515 | .5647 | .7082 | .5016 | .7900 | .6242 | .8290 | .6872 |
| % Sorted Correctly | 83.4 | | 80.6 | | 85.1 | | 86.6 | |

## Table 4. 5 (cont. )

| Variable | Age Under 21 | | Age 21-25 | | Age 26-40 | | Age Over 40 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. | Stand. Coeff. | Signific. |
| More to do in city | .255 | .000 | .390 | .000 | .207 | .000 | .239 | .000 |
| Age in rural area | .104 | .024 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Heard of voc. training available | -.228 | .000 | -.126 | .004 | -.169 | .000 | -.144 | .000 |
| Perceived low quality rural housin | -.119 | .008 | -.198 | .000 | -.180 | .000 | -.112 | .001 |
| Perceived better housing in city | .196 | .000 | .093 | .038 | .132 | .000 | .175 | .000 |
| Perceived rural school problems | -.114 | .015 | ns | >.400 | -.156 | .000 | -.219 | .000 |
| Perceived not enough rural doctor | -.077 | .096 | -.186 | .000 | -.132 | .000 | -.111 | .002 |
| Had background in farming | .112 | .015 | .135 | .003 | .094 | .003 | .118 | .000 |
| Perceived no steady jobs in rural | -.130 | .005 | -.201 | .000 | -.112 | .001 | -.111 | .001 |
| Perceived accessibility problem | .130 | .008 | .076 | ns(.135) | .119 | .001 | .097 | .008 |
| Perceived job discrimination in rural | .156 | .001 | .179 | .000 | .079 | .026 | .074 | .034 |
| Perceived more programs available in city | -.138 | .003 | -.045 | ns(.303) | -.106 | .001 | -.078 | .022 |
| Unemployed, seeking work | -.053 | ns(.268) | .056 | ns(.213) | .074 | .026 | .146 | .000 |
| Perceived better schools in city | -.165 | .001 | -.126 | .023 | .075 | ns(.150) | ns | >.400 |
| Commuted in rural | -.055 | ns(.292) | -.175 | .000 | -.049 | ns(.221) | ns | >.400 |
| Commuting capability | .046 | ns(.377) | ns | >.400 | .090 | .031 | .091 | .007 |
| Underemployment, hours/week | -.057 | ns(.231) | ns | >.400 | -.113 | .001 | -.068 | .038 |
| Owned fixed assets, rural | -.066 | ns(.123) | ns | >.400 | -.090 | .004 | -.092 | .007 |
| Perceived less discrimination in city | .131 | .005 | .033 | ns(.443) | ns | >.400 | .123 | .000 |
| Perceived better pay in city | -.072 | ns(.105) | ns | >.400 | -.055 | .084 | -.042 | ns(.207) |
| Underemployment, seasonal work | .043 | ns(.398) | .093 | .063 | .060 | .079 | ns | >.400 |
| Received vocational training | -.032 | ns(.482) | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | -.066 | .044 |
| Perceived steadier work in city | ns | >.400 | .045 | ns(.296) | .074 | .020 | -.037 | ns(.276) |
| Sex | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 | -.064 | .049 | ns | >.400 |
| Perceived no rural career advance. | .054 | ns(.226) | .046 | ns(.307) | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Perceived better health care in city | ns | >.400 | -.081 | .081 | -.029 | ns(.357) | .029 | ns(.409) |
| Perceived inadequate pay in rural | ns | >.400 | ns | >400 | ns | >.400 | ns | >.400 |
| Perceived not enough rural jobs | ns | >.400 | .054 | ns(.236) | -.028 | ns(.421) | ns | >.400 |
| Family income in-rural-area | ns | >.400 | .060 | ns(.196) | ns | >.400 | -.069 | .044 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Regression Constant/degrees of freedom | 1.1904 | 361 | 1.2932 | 308 | 2.2170 | 506 | 1.9992 | 491 |
| Multiple Correlation/R-square | .6371 | .4059 | .7030 | .4943 | .7381 | .5448 | .7345 | .5395 |
| % Sorted Correctly | 77.7 | | 79.8 | | 79.4 | | 75.4 | |

## Table 4.6

### Multivariate Analysis Using Urban/Rural Residence as Dependent Variable - II

| Variable | Total Sample | | | Southeast Sample | | | Appalachian Sample | | | Southwest Sample | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value |
| More to do in city | .164 | .0134 | 12.24* | .1311 | .0296 | 4.44* | .1848 | .0152 | 12.13* | .1215 | .0156 | 7.80* |
| Age in rural area | .006 | .0006 | 9.01** | .0054 | .0012 | 4.37* | .0057 | .0010 | 5.81* | .0064 | .0010 | 6.61* |
| Heard of voc. training available | -.158 | .0169 | -9.39* | -.1935 | .0339 | -5.71* | -.0675 | .0263 | -2.57** | -.1845 | .0262 | -7.05* |
| Perceived low quality rural housing | -.205 | .0231 | -8.84* | -.1414 | .0527 | -2.68* | -.2119 | .0363 | -5.84 | -.1242 | .0329 | -3.77* |
| Perceived better housing in city | .080 | .0094 | 8.49* | .1480 | .0183 | 8.10* | | | | .0789 | .0140 | 5.64* |
| Perceived rural school problems | -.050 | .0069 | -7.85** | -.0316 | .0129 | -2.45** | -.0457 | .0108 | -4.23 | -.0956 | .0102 | -9.39* |
| Perceived not enough rural doctors | -.135 | .0195 | .1216 | -.1656 | .0386 | -4.29* | -.1601 | .0336 | -4.77 | -.0766 | .0276 | -2.78* |
| Had background in farming | .115 | .0165 | 6.95** | .0512 | .0319 | 1.60 | .2152 | .0292 | 7.38 | .1077 | .0252 | 4.28* |
| Perceived no steady jobs in rural | -.138 | .0216 | -6.35* | -.1058 | .0389 | -2.72* | -.1977 | .0357 | -5.53 | -.0937 | .0364 | -2.57* |
| Perceived accessibility problem | .050 | .0084 | 5.99* | .0542 | .0164 | 3.30* | .0511 | .0135 | 3.78 | .0402 | .0133 | 3.03* |
| Perceived job discrimination in rural | .117 | .0217 | .0957* | .0488 | .0545 | .89 | | | | .1244 | .0275 | 4.53* |
| Perceived more programs available in city | -.055 | .0109 | -5.06* | -.1028 | .0211 | -4.87* | | | | -.0236 | .0174 | -1.36 |
| Unemployed, seeking work | .065 | .0175 | 3.69 | | | | .0495 | .0288 | 1.72 | .1226 | .0269 | 4.56* |
| Perceived better schools in city | .034 | .0127 | -2.71* | -.0473 | .0290 | -1.63 | | | | | | |
| Commuted in rural | -.064 | .0218 | -2.94 | -.1248 | .0323 | -3.86 | -.0229 | .0385 | -.60 | | | |
| Commuting capability | .061 | .0212 | 2.89 | | | | .0983 | .0356 | 2.76** | .0316 | .0253 | 1.25 |
| Underemployment, hours/week | -.043 | .0127 | -3.37 | -.0629 | .0238 | -2.65* | -.0314 | .0208 | -1.51 | -.0479 | .0206 | -2.33** |
| Owned fixed assets, rural | -.055 | .0165 | -3.34 | -.0711 | .0331 | -2.14** | -.0310 | .0262 | -1.18 | -.0706 | .0269 | -2.63* |
| Perceived less discrimination in city | .032 | .0096 | 3.38* | .0734 | .0190 | 3.85* | | | | | | |
| Perceived better pay in city | -.099 | .0360 | -2.76 | | | | -.2696 | .0599 | -4.50 | -.0362 | .0525 | -.69 |
| Underemployment, seasonal work | .044 | .0181 | 2.42 | .0806 | .0342 | 2.36** | .0539 | .0301 | 1.79 | -.0273 | .0263 | -1.04 |
| Received vocational training | -.039 | .0213 | -1.83 | | | | -.0492 | .0341 | -1.44 | -.0648 | .0330 | -1.69** |
| Perceived steadier work in city | .051 | .0316 | 1.03 | .1045 | .0568 | 1.84 | | | | | | |
| Sex | -.022 | .0164 | -1.34 | | | | -.0682 | .0264 | -2.64 | -.0365 | .0257 | -1.42 |
| Perceived no rural career advance. | .027 | .0217 | 1.24 | | | | -.0302 | .0349 | -.86 | .0798 | .0338 | 2.36** |
| Perceived better health care in city | -.012 | .0123 | -.94 | | | | | | | -.0184 | .0216 | -.85 |
| Perceived inadequate pay in rural | -.014 | .0253 | -.57 | | | | .0799 | .0448 | 1.79 | -.0579 | .0337 | -1.72 |
| Perceived not enough rural jobs | ns | | | .0227 | .0421 | -.54 | | | | -.0961 | .0390 | -2.40** |
| Family income in-rural-area | ns | | | .0158 | .0109 | 1.44 | .0082 | .0084 | .98 | -.0073 | .0080 | -.85 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Regression Constant/Degrees of freedom | 1.6905 | 1814 | | 1.7533 | 570 | | 1.6531 | 615 | | 1.8488 | 587 | |
| Multiple Correlation/R-square | .7515 | .5647 | | .7082 | .5016 | | .7900 | .6242 | | .8290 | .6872 | |
| % Sorted Correctly | 83.4 | | | 80.6 | | | 85.1 | | | 86.6 | | |

Blanks indicate significance <.400, variable not entered.

Table 4. 6 (cont. )

| Variable | Age Under 21 | | | Age 21-25 | | | Age 26-40 | | | Age Over 40 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value | Coeff. | Stand. Error | T-Value |
| More to do in city | .1570 | .0296 | 5.30* | .2414 | .0343 | 7.03* | .1064 | .0272 | 3.90* | .1060 | .0151 | 7.01* |
| Age in rural area | .0333 | .0146 | 2.27** | | | | | | | | | |
| Heard of voc. training available | -.1869 | .0374 | -5.00* | -.1209 | .0415 | -2.91* | -.1703 | .0334 | -5.10* | -.1216 | .0281 | -4.32* |
| Perceived low quality rural housing | -.1207 | .0451 | -2.67* | -.2525 | .0557 | -4.53* | -.2585 | .0461 | -5.61* | -.1623 | .0478 | -3.39* |
| Perceived better housing in city | .0933 | .0219 | 4.25* | .0508 | .0244 | 2.08** | .0706 | .0177 | 3.99* | .0793 | .0159 | 4.97* |
| Perceived rural school problems | -.0415 | .0171 | -2.43** | | | | -.0610 | .0130 | -4.69* | -.0714 | .0110 | -6.64* |
| Perceived not enough rural doctors | -.0646 | .0387 | -1.67 | -.1942 | .0504 | -3.85* | -.1504 | .0395 | -3.80* | -.1133 | .0356 | -3.18* |
| Had background in farming | .0919 | .0376 | 2.44** | .1304 | .0430 | 3.03* | .0934 | .0316 | 2.95* | .0998 | .0275 | 3.63* |
| Perceived no steady jobs in rural | -.1191 | .0426 | -2.80* | -.2204 | .0519 | -4.25* | -.1380 | .0410 | -3.36* | -.1277 | .0387 | -3.30* |
| Perceived accessibility problem | .0489 | .0183 | 2.66* | .0336 | .0224 | 1.50 | .0563 | .0160 | 3.51* | .0397 | .0150 | 2.64* |
| Perceived job discrimination in rural | .1884 | .0565 | 3.33* | .2487 | .0667 | 3.73* | .0941 | .0421 | 2.23** | .0673 | .0317 | 2.13** |
| Perceived more programs available in city | -.0727 | .0240 | -3.03* | -.0300 | .0291 | -1.03 | -.0690 | .0213 | -3.24* | -.0432 | .0187 | -2.30** |
| Unemployed, seeking work | -.0435 | .0392 | -1.11 | .0536 | .0430 | 1.25 | .0739 | .0332 | 2.23** | .1290 | .0299 | 4.31* |
| Perceived better schools in city | -.0800 | .0237 | -3.38* | -.0699 | .0306 | -2.28** | .0390 | .0271 | 1.44 | | | |
| Commuted in rural | -.0562 | .0533 | -1.05 | -.1762 | .0443 | -3.98* | -.0499 | .0407 | -1.23 | | | |
| Commuting capability | .0381 | .0431 | .89 | | | | .0919 | .0425 | 2.16** | .0794 | .0295 | 2.69* |
| Underemployment, hours/week | .0305 | .0254 | -1.20 | | | | -.0911 | .0264 | -3.45* | -.0427 | .0205 | -2.08** |
| Owned fixed assets, rural | -.0546 | .0353 | -1.55 | | | | -.0883 | .0307 | -2.88* | -.0822 | .0303 | -2.71* |
| Perceived less discrimination in city | .0607 | .0214 | 2.83* | .0185 | .0242 | .77 | | | | .0662 | .0180 | 5.67* |
| Perceived better pay in city | -.2540 | .1562 | -1.63 | | | | -.1241 | .0717 | -1.73 | -.0644 | .0509 | -1.26 |
| Underemployment, seasonal work | .0352 | .0416 | .85 | .0923 | .0495 | 1.87 | .0618 | .0351 | 1.76 | | | |
| Received vocational training | -.0347 | .0494 | -.70 | | | | | | | -.0748 | .0370 | -2.02** |
| Perceived steadier work in city | | | | .0898 | .0857 | 1.05 | .1343 | .0577 | 2.33** | -.0507 | .0465 | -1.09 |
| Sex | | | | | | | -.0630 | .0319 | -1.97** | | | |
| Perceived no rural career advance. | .0554 | .0457 | 1.21 | .0563 | .0550 | 1.02 | | | | | | |
| Perceived better health care in city | | | | -.0591 | .0338 | -1.75 | -.0221 | .0239 | -.92 | .0165 | .0199 | .83 |
| Perceived inadequate pay in rural | | | | | | | .0412 | .0512 | -.80 | | | |
| Perceived not enough rural jobs | | | | .0078 | .0656 | 1.19 | | | | | | |
| Family income in-rural-area | | | | .0180 | .0139 | 1.29 | | | | -.0175 | .0087 | -2.02** |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Regression Constant/degrees of freedom | 1.1904 | 361 | | 1.2932 | 308 | | 2.2170 | 506 | | 1.9992 | 491 | |
| Multiple Correlation/R-square | .6371 | .4059 | | .7030 | .4943 | | .7381 | .5448 | | .7345 | .5395 | |
| % Sorted Correctly | 77.7 | | | 79.8 | | | 79.4 | | | 75.4 | | |

Employment experience (e.g., unemployment, income, underemployment) explains very little migration.[1] Under the most liberal interpretations of the explanatory power of the employment experience variables, they contribute only a minute portion of the explanation of the migration behavior of the total sample.

The most important explanatory variable is the amenities or "bright lights" indicator, the perception of urban-rural differences in style of life and exciting things to do. This variable is far stronger than the simple variable of age.

Age remains a highly important variable, even when those perceptions which tend to correlate closely with age are controlled. Theoretically, we shall interpret the meaning of "age" in this analysis as being a proxy for life cycle. We shall subsequently integrate the finding into a broader theoretical model.

Farm background, perceptions of urban advantages in housing, steady work, and freedom from discrimination, and the index of perceived accessibility problems are positively and significantly associated with migration.

Perceptions of rural problems in infrastructure and in the availability of work in the rural area tend to be strongly but negatively associated with migration.

Similarly, asset ownership, transport capability, commuting, and receipt of or familiarity with government programmatic assistance in the rural area are strongly and negatively associated with migration. They deter or restrain migration.

Sex, perceptions of urban-rural differentials in welfare and program assistance, and indices or perceptions of job quality in the rural labor market are not related in any statistically significant way to migration.

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[1] The square of the multiple correlation coefficient when a binary migration dependent variable was regressed upon solely unemployment and income was only .02. The addition of perceptions of amenities and infrastructure, transportation variables, assets, farm background, and age raised the same statistic to .561.

Analysis of the data for differences among age groups or among streams shows a great similarity in the causal structure which appears to lie behind the migration decisions of each of these groups. The similarity is greater than the differences. Of course, since perceptions and experiences differ among the groups, the groups will exhibit different behaviors in response to that underlying causal structure. (These differences are examined in detail by major cause area in succeeding chapters.)

Looking at the four age groupings, one must first be struck by the similarity of parameters. The urban amenity variable (i. e., the question "Where are there more things to do?") which we have interpreted as a measure of the "bright lights" attraction of cities is the chief predictor of migration for all groups, not just for the young. The influence of the perception is strongest among the young, however. The restraining power of ties -- asset ownership, contact with government programs -- is present across all age groups. Similarly, the economic dislocation proxy of agricultural background is prominent among all age groups.

The chief differences between age groups are in the importance of perceptions of discrimination and rural infrastructure and in employment experience. The younger groups (under 26) are much more sensitive to discrimination in the rural job market than are the older groups. The differences by age in perception of less discrimination in the city are marginal, however.

Perceptions of rural infrastructure are stronger predictors of migration for the older groups than for the younger groups, but in the opposite direction from which theory would suggest. Critical perceptions of housing, schools, and health are associated with non-migration, rather than migration.

Consistent with theory, employment experiences do influence the migration decisions of the older groups more than they influence the decisions of the young. Older unemployed and underemployed people tend to migrate. The relationship is a weak one, however.

The separate stream analyses again yield more similarities than differences, although the range of differences is greater than that seen for the different age groups. Most of the differences lie in the strength of social and infrastructure perceptions. The blacks tend to be sensitive in their migration decisions to expectations of freedom from discrimination in the city, while the Spanish-Americans primarily are sensitive to perceptions of discrimination in the rural area. The accessibility and commuting variables were most important for the blacks; their importance in explaining migration was much less for the Appalachians and Spanish-Americans. Urban advantages in housing were not a motivation for Appalachians, while they strongly appeared to influence black and Spanish-American sample groups. Similarly, the importance of ties -- asset ownership and contact with government programs in the rural areas -- was obviously great for blacks and Spanish, but limited for the Appalachians.

Employment experience and perceptions were not major differentiators among the streams. The Spanish and Appalachians were the most sensitive to agricultural displacement, and the Spanish especially were sensitive to unemployment. Differences in underemployment, perceptions of rural and urban labor markets, and income had only marginal influence upon the migration decision, however.

The most important variable for all three streams was the urban amenity proxy. This variable had a much more important influence for the Appalachians than for the blacks and Spanish, however. The age variable, apparently serving as a proxy for life cycle, was one of the most important explanatory variables in all three streams.

* * *

In evaluating the results of the regression analysis, the reader is reminded of several important methodological qualifications. First, the dependent variable is a binary variable: urban or rural interviewee. Binary dependent variables are customarily handled by discriminant analysis, rather than solely by regression analysis, because the percentage of observations correctly classified has more intuitive meaning than the percentage of variance explained. By definition, a binary variable has limited amount of variance. Thus, the square of the multiple correlation coefficient (R-square) should only be interpreted heuristically.

Second, many of the independent variables are ordinal or nominal in character. They, like the binary dependent variable, violate the statistical conditions for classical regression analysis. In terms of significance testing, ordinal data increases the probability that one will declare a variable unimportant -- reject a hypothesis -- even though an important relationship exists. Traditional significance tests, such as the T-test, tend to be overly strict in evaluating the existence of relationships.

Third, there is multicollinearity between various variables. This means that one cannot take the Beta coefficients and standardized regression coefficients as strict measures of the influence of a given causal variable. The multicollinearity is most significant between variables within particular groups, rather than between groups. That is, variables measuring, for example, perceptions of urban advantages over the rural area in infrastructure (housing, health, schools) tend.to be corrleated with each other. They tend less often to be correlated with variables in other groups (e.g., employment experience or perceptions of urban-rural differences in labor market conditions).

Separate analyses were therefore made of groups of intercorrelated variables; employment experiences (unemployment, income, underemployment); perceptions of rural job market (wages, steadiness of work, availability of work, etc.); perceptions of rural infrastructure (housing, health, schools); perceptions of urban-rural comparisons as to jobs (wages, steady work), infrastructure (housing, health, schools), and amenities (discrimination, things to do); ties to the rural area (asset ownership, contact with programs); and demographic characteristics (age, sex, life cycle status). Between these different sets of variables, there is still some overlap of causal influence. Yet, the relative importance of the different sets in explaining migration is possible to appraise through comparisons of the multiple correlation coefficient.[1] These analyses of separate sets of variables supported the conclusions which we have presented above.

Fourth, within this regression and discriminant analysis, no attention has been given to interaction effects. Yet the contingency table analysis, which was used for the presentation in the following chapters, suggests strongly that interaction effects are important for many of the variables.

Fifth, the interpretation of the binary variable, which actually categorized interviewees as to the place interviewed -- city or rural county -- may be misleading. In analyzing the regression and discriminant functions, the variable has been interpreted as classifying individuals as to migrant or non-migrant status. As stated earlier, within the non-migrant group, which is actually the group of individuals interviewed in the rural area, there are a range of migration and non-migration behaviors. This definitional point must be borne in mind in interpreting both multivariate and contingency analyses.

Given these qualifications, it must be stressed that the multivariate analysis should be treated as a heuristic indicator of the relative importance of causal variables. Use of a binary variable as a dependent variable and use of ordinal data as independent variables significantly change the statistical interpretation of the absolute values of regression coefficients and multiple correlation coefficients. At the same time, such data complications do not affect the relative size of coefficients, one to another. Thus we used the standardized regression coefficients to appraise the relative importance of explanatory variables, and compared multiple correlation coefficients to assess the relative explanatory power of different sets of explanatory variables. With regard to interpreting relative results, there is the further reservation that differences between coefficients should not be interpreted as absolute differences, but rather as a heuristic approximation of relative differences. Small differences in standardized regression coefficients should be ignored, and variables should be treated as if they were roughly comparable in explanatory power. This reservation is, of course, one which must be expressed whenever multivariate analysis is used to infer causation from correlations within sampled data; it is in no sense unique to our form of data or to our particular use of multivariate methods.

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[1] The R-square for the combined sets of employment experience, demography, and perceptions of rural and urban-rural labor market conditions is .26. The R-square for the combined sets of rural and urban-rural perceptions of infrastructure and amenities is .42. If the two groups are combined, the R-square only increases to .50. The regression coefficients and their T-tests shift. Clearly there is an overlap between the two groups, in causal influence. Heuristically, one may compare the unique influences of the two groups by noting that the first group of job-related variables had a unique contribution to the R-square of only .08, while the second group of amenity and infrastructure variables had a unique contribution of .24.

The best statistical tool for evaluating the migration model which the sets of variables of employment experiences, perceptions, ties to the rural area, transport capability, and demography represent, is the sorting power of the discriminant functions. As Tables 4.5 - 4.6 show, the model was most effective in classifying the Southwestern Spanish among the streams (87% of the cases correctly sorted) and least effective in classifying the Southeastern blacks (81%). Among age groups, the model was most effective in classifying 21-25 year-old group (80%) and least effective in classifying the over 40 group (75%). Overall, for the total sample population combining streams and age groups, the model correctly classified 83% of the sample population. Thus, the model which we have explored is very powerful in predicting the migration status of individuals, even though the interpretation of particular causal variables and the assessment of the relative influence of different causal variables may still involve unresolved theoretical and statistical questions.

## D. A Model of the Causes of Migration

### Research Content of the Findings

The conclusions presented above differ significantly from the conclusions presented in most past research. Since our data is different, and in some respects better and more comprehensive than the data available to most past researchers, this is not necessarily surprising. However, the reader should keep in mind one important characteristic of our sample.

This study probed the causes of migration of the rural poor. Our sampling techniques were designed primarily to pick up the poor urban migrant and the poor rural non-migrant. Within our sampling approach, we nevertheless picked up a wide spread of family incomes within the "poor" population.

Our data findings are findings about those perceptions, experiences, and characteristics among the rural poor which differentiate migrants from non-migrants. We concluded that while employment experience and perceptions of jobs and infrastructure in the rural area indicated severe problems in the rural society, they did not differentiate migrants from non-migrants within the overall population of the rural poor.

Had the study been of the causes of migration generally, however, the results might have been very different. Our data show that the rural poor have in common poorer jobs and perceptions of bad housing, health, etc. Thus, it is not surprising that such factors fail to explain migration within the rural poor population. If one compared, however, the rural poor with the entire rural population, one might find that poor jobs and rural problem perceptions did indeed help to predict migration. There may well be a much higher tendency for the rural poor as a group to migrate than for other groups within the rural population to migrate. Being underemployed, unemployed, and poor, the rural poor as a group have more critical perceptions of the rural area, and perceptions of better conditions in urban areas, than does the general population. When a shock comes, the rural poor may have a much higher propensity to migrate than do other groups within the population. By looking at the rural poor alone, however, one may not be able to see that the underlying employment and poverty condition of the whole group is a basic structural factor in the whole group's propensity to migrate.

## Integrating Data Results with Theory

The findings which have been presented above can be integrated into a general theory of migration. We shall first sketch out a paradigm for understanding migration behaviors. Then we shall relate our data findings to the concepts it includes.

The paradigm is fairly straightforward. Individuals achieve an equilibrium with regard to their location (and indeed with regard to their general behaviors adapting to their physical, social, and economic environments). This equilibrium consists of a balance of perceptions, experience, and relationships to a social community within a given geographical location. The relationships are psychological as well as social and economic. Various events, or circumstances, which shall be called "shocks", occur; they shatter the status quo and equilibrium and force the individual to reconsider his adaptation to his environment. The individual's adjustments to these shocks can represent major transition points within his life. One of the prior adaptations of behaviors which a person may reconsider when a shock occurs is his residential location. During the reconsideration, the individual rebalances his ties to the geographical area, his perceptions of his opportunities and his satisfactions in his current location, and his perceptions of opportunities which exist "elsewhere". Depending on the balance of perceptions and ties, the individual decides whether to stay or move. Migrations represent behavioral adaptations of the individual to shocks and result from the balancing of perceptions and ties described above.

Our data suggest that the equilibrium achieved by the poor in the rural area is a tenuous one. The employment experience of the rural poor is far from pleasant -- some 40% of non-migrant decisionmakers and 50% of migrant decisionmakers had been unemployed during the year in question (the past year, for non-migrants; the year prior to migration, for migrants). Perceptions of the rural job market are uniformly unfavorable for both migrants and non-migrants; similarly both groups believed that the urban job market was much better than that in the rural area. Given this situation, one might well wonder whether the question "Why do the rural poor migrate?" would not have been better phrased "Why do the rural poor not migrate?"

Part of the explanation lies in the individual's perceptions of non-economic aspects of the rural and urban environment. This includes his perceptions of the aspects of the service structure such as housing and education, but most importantly it includes his perception of the general attractiveness of the city. In none of these areas of perception is there a clear-cut concensus on the degree of rural problems or urban superiority, such as that seen in the perception of job markets. Perceiving specific problems in the rural area does not seem to incline individuals to migrate. Believing the city to be more attractive does.

A second area of explanation is found in the strong ties which exist to the area. Ownership of assets strongly inclined an individual not to migrate, in all age groups. The tendency to rely on social networks of friends and relatives was strongly apparent in job search and in reasons for choosing or considering destinations. Attitudes were frequently expressed even among the young which were highly favorable to the rural way of life. Even when an individual migrated, he kept close contact with his social network -- both by meeting friends and relatives in his destination city and by frequently visiting the origin area after migrating. A significant percentage of migrants hoped one day to return to the rural area. And indeed, almost 25% of the rural sample were return migrants from the cities.

The shock which causes a reconsideration of residential location may appear in many forms. Two major kinds of shocks were explicit within the data. The first was a pervasive economic shock, experienced primarily by older individuals but also indirectly by younger people (through the closing of formerly important livelihood opportunities ) -- agricultural displacement. Such displacement, more than unemployment or underemployment, was strongly linked to migration. The second kind of shock was one intimately linked to the life cycle -- the transition of young people from dependency to mature economic and psychological self-sufficiency and adulthood. This life cycle effect was proxied both by age and marital status.

When the shocks occurred, the victims contemplated migration. The former farmers, having assets and being older and more psychologically and socially dependent upon the network of ties to the rural area, were much more inclined to migrate than others of their life cycle status, but much less inclined to migrate than the young person. The young person, having usually fewer assets, less psychological dependence upon the social network, and a stronger perception of urban advantage with regard to social amenities, had an extremely high propensity to migrate.

## E. Summary

In this chapter, it has been shown that all migrant streams tend to cite economic reasons as the prime reason for their move, but that secondary reasons do differ by stream. When perceptions, employment experience, and other factors are analyzed, however, economic factors fail to explain much of the migration behavior. Employment experience explains very little migration within the rural poor population. The "bright lights" attractions of cities, perceptions of urban advantage with regard to infrastructure (especially housing), farm background, age, rural assets, contact with government programs, and past commuting (or transport capability) are the chief factors which determine migration or non-migration. The "bright lights" and age factors are by far the most important factors, however.

A paradigm was sketched which integrated these findings with theory. The paradigm suggested that individuals achieve an equilibrium of perceptions and preferences in residential location, and in a "shock" situation (a significant change in the circumstances of the individual's life) they re-evaluate these perceptions and preferences. The equilibrium is tenuous for the rural poor as a group, because of their consistently bad employment experience, their unfavorable perceptions of the rural job market, and their favorable perception of the urban job market. Of the variety of shocks which may disrupt residential equilibrium, two were particularly strongly represented in our sample: the normal life cycle event of changing from a dependency status to a self-sufficient adult status; and agricultural displacement. When either these or other shocks occur, the individual's decision to migrate or not migrate is based upon a balancing of various elements. Economic considerations constitute a key element in the decision process. Among the poor, however, these factors seem to work always in the same direction, so the poor migrant cannot be distinguished from the poor non-migrant by his economic experiences and perception. What does separate the migrant from the non-migrant is especially (1) his comparative perception of the amenities and infrastructure offerings of the rural and urban environments; and (2) the extent to which he is tied to the rural area by assets, receipt of benefits, or psychological attachment.

# CHAPTER 5: ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

## A. Introduction

### Past research

Studies of migration using aggregated data have long tried to explain migration as a response to levels and sometimes changes in the economic structures of the origin and destination communities. Thus, it is readily observed that net migration appears to flow from areas with lower per capita incomes, lower percentages of manufacturing employment within the economic base, higher unemployment rates, and higher percentages of agricultural employment within the economic base. Net migration gains have been in areas with higher incomes, lower unemployment, less agriculture, and more manufacturing activity. Such observation has been the basis of inference that the individual moved in order to improve his economic condition.

Several questions are raised by such inferences, however. First, while the above pattern of migration between areas has been true of net migration, it is also true that there is often a large gross migration of individuals in the opposite direction from the tendency of the net migration.[1] If individuals are rationally moving from areas with "worse" economic structures (and thus poorer personal economic opportunities) to areas with "better" economic structures and personal opportunities, why do so many people pass each other going in opposite directions, as they move between two areas?

Second, data on individual incomes before and after rural-to-urban migration suggest that while most individuals benefit from their

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[1] Cf. Dale Hathaway and Brian B. Perkins, "Occupational Mobility and Migration from Agriculture," in the President's Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, Washington, 1968. Using Social Security data, Hathaway and Perkins find that for every ten individuals who switch from agricultural to nonagricultural employment during a year, nine individuals are switching back to agricultural employment. These nine "returnees" are individuals who tried to move out of agriculture in earlier years, but failed to make a successful economic adjustment. For a discussion of the magnitude of gross migration flows as compared to net flows, see Simon Kuznets et al, Population Redistribution and Economic Growth of the U.S., 1870-1950, 3 vols., Phila:1964; and Ira S. Lowry, Migration and Metropolitan Growth, Los Angeles: 1966.

p. 84 blank

move, a large number of individuals also suffer a decline in their economic condition after migrating.[1] These individuals often migrate back to their origin areas. Why were they so irrational or at least poorly informed about the relative opportunities of their origin and destination areas? Why did many of these individuals suffer a personal decline in economic condition, even though indicators of the origin and destination area would suggest that in the aggregate, the economic structure of the of the destination area was indeed better than that of the origin-rural area?

Third, the clustering of migrants in ghetto areas and sometimes on welfare rolls suggests that the degree of aggregation used in such studies is often excessive.[2] To use data for a whole city or for an

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1. Again using Social Security data, Hathaway and Perkins have shown that many rural individuals, especially in the first years after migration, suffer a decline in income. Cf. Hathaway and Perkins, "Farm Labor Mobility, Migration, and Income Distribution," American Journal of Agricultural Economics 50:342-56 (May, 1968.) In their classic study of American occupation mobility using Census individual data, Blau and Duncan found that migrants universally fared better than the people they left behind and usually fared better than the natives of the destination places at which they arrived. There was a glaring exception to the latter finding, however: migrants of farm background, and especially black migrants of farm background. Moreover, the largest cities, and especially the central city areas, were the worst environment for the successful occuption mobility of off-farm migrants. Rural migrants fared much better in small cities than in large cities, because their skills and education relative to the native population were less at at a competitive disadvantage. Cf. Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure N. Y.: 1967, especially pp. 243-294.

2. The glaring differences between unemployment rates in central city ghettos and in the whole city or SMSA have been well publicized. The central city ghettos bear a disproportionate share of cities, poverty, welfare dependency, broken families, slum housing, crime (both victims and perpetrators), infant mortality, mental retardation, physical handicaps, etc. Cf. James Q. Wilson, ed. The Metropolitan Enigma Cambridge: 1968. The SEO 1967 Census data, according to preliminary reports by Calvin Beale and Gladys Bowles of the United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, indicates that rural migrants are concentrated in such low income and central city areas of cities.

SMSA assumes that the whole area can be expressed as a single point in space. But when an individual migrates to that point, he is probably not capable of participating in all the social and economic activity of the area represented by that point. Due to discrimination in housing, due to poverty, to the urban transportation systems, and to the changing spatial patterns of economic activity within SMSAs, a migrant to an urban ghetto has a very limited ability to participate in the social and economic activity throughout the SMSA. His spatial range of access is much more circumscribed, and thus his opportunities are less. For those migrants who are forced to reside in limited sections of the SMSA, using aggregate data for the whole area as an indicator of the individuals' economic opportunities is quite deceptive. Yet, because of the spatially disaggregated data, such deceptive indicators have been the best that analysts could employ.

Questions Studied

In this chapter, we shall present our findings with regard to five questions concerning economic structure.

1. How do individual's perception of the rural labor market and of urban/rural differences in labor market opportunities affect their decisions to migrate?

2. Is outmigration from rural areas primarily a transition phenomenon resulting from the large scale changes which have occurred within agriculture and the mining industry?

3. Did individual migrants improve their lot by migrating, and what factors help explain their personal success or failure, their greater or lesser personal success?

4. What were the characteristics of the economic structure of the areas to and from which individuals migrated? Do these characteristics help explain individual success and failure, as measured by income gains and desire to move again?

5. How does the individual's employment experience in the rural origin area conform to what might be expected given the aggregate indicators of the economic structure of that area?

## B. Perceptions of the Labor Market

In analyzing the extent to which local labor market conditions influenced migration, we probed the perceptions of labor market conditions within the rural area familiar to the respondents. The questions focused on both job availability and job quality. Surprisingly, non-migrants living in the rural areas tended to be significantly more critical of the rural labor market than did the migrants. As Table 5.1 indicates, non-migrants perceived more problems than did migrants with regard to the steadiness of jobs, the level of wages, workers' insurance against injury and illness, workers (bargaining) rights versus employers, the availability of information about jobs, the accessibility of jobs, and discrimination in hiring and promotion. There were non-significant differences between migrants and non-migrants with regard to the scarcity or availability of jobs, opportunities for training and promotion, and general working conditions.

Table 5.1

Relationship between Perceptions of Labor Market Conditions and Migration

Hypothesis: Migration = f (Perception Labor Market)

D-statistics. A positive D indicates that an individual critical of the rural area tends to migrate.

| | Black | White | Spanish |
|---|---|---|---|
| Index-Rural Job Availability | -.100 | -.114 | -.241 |
| Scarcity of Jobs | NS(.037) | NS(.012) | -.164 |
| Discrimination | NS(.119) | -- | .248 |
| Index-Rural Job Quality | -.060 | -.126 | -.092 |
| Low Pay | -.124 | NS(-.096) | -.211 |
| Unsteadiness of Work | -.149 | -.303 | -.305 |
| No Training, Promotion | NS(.076) | NS(-.074) | .107 |
| Urban-Rural Comparisons | | | |
| Pay is Better in City | NS(-.003) | NS(-.080) | NS(.113) |
| Work is Steadier in City | .277 | .188 | .366 |

This pattern--the non-migrant being more critical of the rural labor market than the migrant--was true of all ages for both sexes. Concern about labor market factors was occasionally expressed more strongly by younger than by older people,[1] but only for certain indicators like discrimination and opportunities for advancement. There was no difference in perception in the key areas of wages, job availability or steadiness of work.

These findings vary sharply with the results from the analysis of those questions which asked interviewees to compare labor market conditions in their rural origin area with those in cities. Migrants much more than non-migrants believed it easier to find steady work in the city than in the rural area. This pattern was much stronger for young workers than for older workers. In contrast, there was no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants in their perception of urban/rural job pay. All agreed that cities paid better.

This pattern would tentatively suggest that to the extent that employment perceptions are a dominant factor in the decision to migrate, the perception of pull (urban/rural relative) opportunities is a more important factor than perceptions of push (rural) factors. Such a conclusion must remain tentative, however, since there are so few questions measuring pull forces. Also, the overall results (see Table 5.2) suggest that employment perceptions are by no means the dominant factor in influencing the decision to migrate. Rural non-migrants are highly critical of the rural labor market, and also tend to perceive the urban labor market as better than the rural labor market along the few indicators measured, but they do not move.

## Differences Between Streams--Labor Market Perceptions

There is little difference between the streams, among migrants

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[1] Males tend to be slightly more critical than females of the rural labor market, and young males and females to be less critical than older males and females, respectively. The pattern of relative concern discussed here, however, is the difference in perceptions held by migrants and non-migrants of any particular age/sex cohort.

## Table 5.2

## Perceptions of Rural Labor Market

| Percent perceiving a problem in Rural Labor Market | Total | | Black | | White | | Spanish | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural |
| Measures of Job Availability | | | | | | | | |
| Scarcity of Jobs | 87.3 | 88.8 | 81.8 | 79.9 | 94.4 | 94.2 | 85.0 | 91.7 |
| Poor Information about Jobs | 73.4 | 79.1 | 69.9 | 76.5 | 84.5 | 84.6 | 65.2 | 75.9 |
| Inaccessibility of Jobs | 60.0 | 79.1 | 62.9 | 76.5 | 66.6 | 84.6 | 50.3 | 75.9 |
| Discrimination | 63.5 | 73.5 | 85.9 | 89.5 | - | - | 42.0 | 57.7 |
| Measures of Job Quality | | | | | | | | |
| Low Pay | 83.3 | 90.3 | 87.1 | 91.9 | 87.7 | 91.2 | 75.3 | 87.7 |
| Unsteadiness of Work | 71.6 | 87.3 | 68.9 | 80.5 | 71.7 | 90.2 | 74.1 | 90.8 |
| No training, promotion | 84.5 | 82.2 | 85.1 | 79.7 | 81.8 | 86.4 | 86.8 | 80.3 |
| Hard dirty work | 70.2 | 73.0 | 79.0 | 82.1 | 70.8 | 74.9 | 61.2 | 62.4 |
| No insurance | 66.8 | 77.1 | 68.6 | 77.7 | 64.4 | 85.0 | 67.8 | 68.3 |
| No worker rights | 69.9 | 76.7 | 81.7 | 85.8 | 72.7 | 80.3 | 55.6 | 64.1 |
| Index[1]-Rural Job Availability | | | | | | | | |
| Severe Problem | 49.7 | 67.3 | 29.3 | 43.4 | 52.8 | 65.4 | 9.3 | 30.8 |
| No Problem | 7.2 | 4.9 | 7.7 | 7.5 | 4.0 | 4.8 | 10.0 | 2.6 |
| Index[1]-Rural Job Quality | | | | | | | | |
| Severe Problem | 22.4 | 34.6 | 25.9 | 37.3 | 23.3 | 39.4 | 18.0 | 27.2 |
| No Problem | 4.7 | 5.7 | 6.1 | 8.8 | 1.6 | 4.8 | 6.8 | 3.6 |
| Urban-Rural | | | | | | | | |
| Better Pay in City | 91.2 | 90.6 | 90.3 | 90.0 | 91.8 | 93.5 | 91.2 | 88.2 |
| Easier to find work in City | 91.7 | 84.8 | 88.0 | 80.6 | 93.1 | 91.1 | 93.9 | 82.3 |

1. Index variables are composites of the individual variables listed above under "measures of job availability" and "measures of job quality". "Severe problem" means that the individual felt there was a problem on all component variables; "no problem" means that he did not mention a problem on any of the included questions.

or non-migrants, in the perception of the relative urban vs. rural labor market opportunities.

There were marked differences, however, regarding perceptions of the rural labor market. The following paragraphs indicate for each of the important categories of labor market perceptions, which stream most strongly perceived problems.

Appalachian migrants were the most concerned stream on all three indicators of job availability (e.g. job scarcity, job accessibility, job information); they were not asked questions about racial discrimination. There was no noticeable trend in the Appalachian migrant response on job quality as compared to other streams; non-migrants on the other hand ranked among the highest on four of six indicators of job quality (e.g. steadiness of work, opportunities for advancement, wages, and insurance).

The Spanish-Americans ranked low among the streams in responding to many indicators both of job availability and job quality. Migrants ranked lowest on three of four indicators of job availability (including discrimination and excluding job scarcity) and on three of six indicators of job quality (e.g. wages, working conditions, and worker rights). Non-migrants ranked lowest on three of four indicators of job availability (e.g. discrimination, accessibility, job information) and four of six indicators of job quality (e.g. wages, working conditions, worker rights, and opportunities for advancement).

Black migrants and non-migrants responded most strongly on four of six indicators of job quality (e.g. wages, working conditions, worker rights, and opportunities for advancement), but assumed intermediate positions among most other indicators. Surprisingly, on those indicators which one might theoretically assume to have the greatest importance, job scarcity and the steadiness of work, black migrants and non-migrants ranked least concerned.

In summary, it would appear from a comparison across streams, that the Spanish-Americans were the least concerned about the labor market (whether job availability or job quality); that all Appalachians were strongly concerned about job availability, while Appalachian non-migrants were particularly bothered by job quality; and that Southeastern blacks were primarily bothered by job quality rather than job availability. These differences among streams should not be overstated. All three streams, including both migrants and non-migrants, expressed strong concern about job availability and job quality.

This last reservation is important when one compares the relative weighting of problems by the three streams combined. Those labor market conditions which received the most frequent expression of concern were low wages, poor opportunities for training and promotion, the scarcity of jobs, and the steadiness of work. These are very important characteristics of a labor market, embracing both job availability (e. g. scarcity of jobs) and job quality. All other conditions received significantly less expression of concern but were very similar to each other in the amount of concern expressed: hard, dirty work; no worker rights; no insurance; poor job information; job inaccessibility; and discrimination in hiring and promotions. Moreover, this general pattern of the ranking of employment concerns was true of both migrants and non-migrants.

### Ranking of Concerns within Streams

An analysis within each stream of the comparative response to different problems (that is, which problems a stream considered most important) reveals some special stream interests.

The concerns of black migrants could be divided into two groups. The group for which black migrants expressed least concern included steadiness of work, accessibility, job information, and insurance. Black migrants and non-migrants both expressed greatest concern for discrimination and wages.

Whites express least concern for accessibility and the more mundane measures of job quality. White migrants and non-migrants expressed greatest concern for the scarcity of jobs and for low wages.

Spanish-American migrants expressed greatest concern for the scarcity of jobs and the poor opportunities for advancement. Discrimination was among the labor market indicators for which both migrants and non-migrants expressed least concern.

Clearly, discrimination is a problem which concerns blacks much more than it does Spanish-Americans. Also, all three streams give great importance to job scarcity and to varying prime indicators of job quality.

In no case is the perception of labor market problems a statistically significant correlate of migration. The fact that perceptions of the rural labor market fail to differentiate migrants from non-migrants does not imply, however, that there are no severe employment problems confronting all rural residents, both those who decide to leave and especially those who decide--for some other reason--to stay.

## Consistency of Perceptions with Job Experience

Theoretically one would expect that an individual's perception of the labor market would be strongly influenced by his own experience in the market. Table 5.3 indicates that this consistency of perceptions with experience does hold for the migrants and non-migrants. Individuals who were unemployed, who were producing low incomes from their labor, or who were employed in less than year-round jobs tended to be more critical of the rural labor market than those whose employment experience was better. The relationship was especially strong between perceptions, unemployment and low income.

The table does produce some surprises, however. There is no relationship between perceptions and what was thought the strongest indicator of underemployment: hours worked per week. Similarly, employment experience had a very weak and frequently non-significant correlation with the perception of urban-rural differences in the labor market. The appraisal of the urban advantage appears to be based on information about urban areas exogeneous to the actual job experience of individuals. Both high and low income, employed and unemployed workers agreed on the superiority of the urban labor market to the rural market.

A considerable difference also appears between the streams within the table. The consistency between experience and perception was greatest for the blacks, least for the Appalachians, with the Spanish-Americans in the middle. Overall, the Appalachians showed a surprising lack of correlation between their experience and perceptions.

Correlations were also run for those of farming and mining backgrounds. Both industry groups showed significant differences from the general labor force in their perceptions of rural labor market problems. There was no difference in the perception of urban-rural differences, however, for farmers.[1]

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[1] The Sommers D for farmers was .000 for the question on whether there was steadier work in the city.

## Consistency of Cognitive Reasons for Move with Labor-Market Perceptions and Job Experience

Migrants were asked to give their reasons for migrating. As in other research which has asked such questions, migrants overwhelmingly responded that they migrated for economic reasons: loss of job, search for a job, need to increase income to support family, etc.

Traditionally analysts have often taken such explanations at face value. Since individuals say they migrate for economic reasons, since statistically migration correlates closely with unemployment rates and income (using aggregate data), and since the theoretical model of the economist postulates that the rational individual (as a mobile factor of production maximizing its return) should be migrating from rural to urban areas for economic reasons, the conclusion was quickly reached that individuals do indeed migrate for economic reasons, and the case of the causes of migration was therefore closed.

Unfortunately, our data suggest that individuals' reports of their reasons for migration may not be a good indicator of the effective cause of their migration.[1] By "effective cause of migration", we mean that factor which had changed at the margin and prompted their decision to alter their current behavior and migrate.

The correlations between stating an economic reason for migrating and being critical of the rural labor market, or between an economic reason and unemployment or low income, are statistically significant but disturbingly weak. Moreover, the correlation is significant solely because of the strength of the correlation within the black stream and among males. This suggests that many individuals who cite economic reasons are not being harsh in their appraisal of the rural labor market in the "problem-questions"; nor are they particularly praising the city with regard to labor market differences from the rural area; nor are they reacting to the kinds of economic experiences -- unemployment, low incomes -- which might push a person to move for economic reasons.

There are some fascinating variances within the data, however.

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[1] See Chapter 4.

When one examines the correlations between economic reasons for move and perceptions, one discovers that the correlation is quite strong for the mature male (over 26) and weak and non-significant for younger males and for females generally. Since young people compose the bulk of the migrant population, this suggests a basic inconsistency between cognitive reason for move and underlying perceptions for the migrants. While younger migrants and females may cite economic reasons for their move, their real motivations would appear to lie elsewhere. At the least, to explain their migration, one must turn in part to other than economic explanations. At the same time, the data reinforce the conclusion reached earlier that prime-age males primarily migrate for economic reasons, stimulated by economic shocks.

Within the framework of perceptions, one sees from Table 5.3 that there was little difference in the response of males to the questions of job availability and quality, insofar as they correlated with reason for move. On the other hand, there was a much higher correlation for all male age groups between perception of urban-rural labor market differences and the economic reason for move, than between perception of rural problems and economic reasons. (These correlations were statistically non-significant, however.) This would suggest that the pull factor of the city has a more prominent influence in the thinking of the individual than the push factors of the rural area.

At the same time, we have shown in our discussion of the decision to move that some experience of shock, economic or life cycle, was often critical as a catalyst to stimulate the actual behavior of migration. It seems apparent that males generally perceive the urban area as being superior in terms of labor market opportunities long before they decide to migrate. The pull attractions of cities are therefore not the effective cause of migration, even though they may be a necessary condition for migration.

When one examines the relationship between employment experience and economic reason for move in Table 5.4, one finds a very

### Table 5.3

### Relationship Between Labor Market Perceptions and Labor Market Experience

Hypothesis: Perception = f (Experience)

D Statistics: A positive D indicates that a migrant whose employment experience was poor tended to be critical of the rural labor market in his perceptions.

| | USES Unemployment | Seasonality Under-Employment | Hrs/wk Under-Employment | Family Income |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Problem Perceived in Rural Labor Market | | | | |
| Index - Job Availability | .108 | .080 | NS[.070] | .134 |
| Black | .164 | .074 | NS[.014] | .120 |
| White | NS[.059] | NS[.062] | NS[.057] | .147 |
| Spanish-American | .098 | .084 | NS[.105] | .151 |
| Not Enough Jobs in Rural | .041 | .033 | NS[-.022] | .037 |
| Black | .061 | NS[.063] | NS[-.040] | NS[.003] |
| White | NS[.012] | NS[.016] | NS[-.007] | .035 |
| Spanish-American | .057 | .028 | NS[.011] | .073 |
| Index - Job Quality | .088 | .087 | NS[.046] | .172 |
| Black | .149 | .077 | NS[.011] | .191 |
| White | NS[.069] | NS[.079] | NS[.069] | .217 |
| Spanish-American | NS[.063] | .130 | NS[.068] | NS[.096] |
| No Steady Work in Rural | .058 | .065 | NS[.050] | .072 |
| Black | NS[.052] | .112 | NS[.100] | .082 |
| White | NS[.047] | NS[.029] | NS[.023] | .089 |
| Spanish-American | .070 | .042 | NS[.026] | NS[.050] |
| Steadier Work in City | .036 | .034 | NS[.020] | NS[.008] |
| Black | NS[.020] | .045 | NS[.010] | NS[.016] |
| White | .048 | NS[.019] | NS[-.006] | NS[.002] |
| Spanish-American | .041 | .045 | NS[.060] | NS[.007] |

## Table 5.4

## Relationship Between Economic Reason for Move and Labor Market Perceptions and Experience

Hypothesis: Reason for Move = f (Perceptions; Experience)

D Statistics: A positive D indicates that a migrant who was highly critical of the rural job market, or who was poor or unemployed tends to cite economic reasons for his move.

| Citing Economic Reason for Their Move, Urban Migrants Only | Index Job Quality | Index Job Availability | No Steady Work in Rural | Steadier Work in City | USES Unemployment | Income |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | .091 | .048 | .066 | .264 | .104 | .083 |
| Male | | | | | | |
| Age Under 21 | NS[.004] | .065 | NS[-.053] | NS[-0.] | .167 | .209 |
| 21-26 | NS[.007] | NS[.013] | NS[.038] | 0.500 | NS[.113] | .193 |
| 26-40 | .140 | NS[.145] | .251 | NS[-0.210] | NS[-.042] | NS[.069] |
| Over 40 | .225 | .214 | .410 | NS[.569] | NS[.050] | NS[.210] |
| Female | | | | | | |
| Age Under 21 | NS[.044] | NS[.029] | NS[-.068] | NS[.300] | NS[.027] | NS[.092] |
| 21-26 | NS[.025] | NS[-.064] | NS[-.018] | NS[-.033] | NS[.074] | NS[.085] |
| 26-40 | NS[.161] | NS[.075] | NS[.171] | NS[.123] | NS[.107] | NS[.069] |
| Over 40 | NS[.128] | NS[.130] | NS[.167] | NS[-.060] | .207 | NS[-.112] |
| Total | | | | | | |
| Black | .144 | .131 | NS[.022] | .423 | NS[.070] | .178 |
| White | NS[.071] | NS[-.009] | NS[.055] | .385 | .158 | NS[.054] |
| Spanish-American | .071 | NS[.042] | .110 | NS[-.052] | NS[.077] | NS[.040] |

different relationship from that which pertains to perceptions. The overall correlation between reason for move and economic experience, whether unemployment or income, is only slightly stronger than between reason for move and perceptions. Yet there is a very different internal pattern in the correlation by age. In the case of economic experience, the high correlation with reason for move occurs in the case of younger workers, not in the case of older workers. We have already shown that younger workers, in spite of their higher educations, suffer more unemployment and underemployment. Apparently this experience affects their thinking about their migration decisions, even though it does not sharply affect their appraisal of the rural area, as measured by their perceptions of the rural labor market.

This age disparity in the patterns of correlation with reason for move suggest that the causes of migration should be approached from a very different perspective from that which has traditionally been manfest. Rather than asking why people migrate, the proper question should be why people do not migrate. The proper focus perhaps should be on impedances to mobility and migration. Why do individuals, even though they perceive severe problems in their local area and much better opportunities elsewhere, not move?

The answer lies in a number of factors which bind the mature worker to its origin area - asset investments, family responsibilities, social and psychological security, etc. For the young person, most of these ties do not exist. Thus, when a shock comes, there is little to restrain the individual from migrating. For young people just entering the labor force, the transition from dependency to self-sufficiency in the labor market represents a very pervasive shock. Thus, given the job and amenity situation in rural areas, it is not surprising that a large proportion of young people migrate. Indeed, it is more surprising that some stay. For older workers who have settled down in the area, strong impedances do exist. Even though their perceptions of the rural area are more critical than the younger workers, the impedances (and the absence of severe economic shocks) are sufficient to bind the worker to the rural area, in spite of poverty and occasional unemployment.

Last of all, there is a significant variance between streams. The consistency of economic reason for move with perceptions and employment experience is quite apparent for the blacks. For the Appalachians, the only significant correlations are between reasons and unemployment. For the Spanish, the only significant correlations are between reasons and job quality, and reasons and urban-rural labor market differences. These patterns are quite consistent with our earlier analyses of perceptions. Appalachian whites, especially the young, are more concerned with unemployment. Spanish-Americans do consistently register their greatest concern with job quality. It is also significant that the blacks, coming from a relatively highly industrialized section of what formerly had been agriculturally-dominant country, showed a higher correlation of stated economic motivation with income than with unemployment or perceptions. In short, the pattern of the streams suggests that the Southeast stream's orientation is uniquely heavily economic, but that each of the streams has some very special economic concerns particular to itself.

## Correspondence Between Individual Labor Market Experience and Aggregate Data Indicators of Labor Market Conditions

Aggregate data -- that is, quantitative data which is presented as a total for a geographic unit (e. g., unemployment rate for a county) -- is the basis for many studies of migration. It is also a common basis for policy decisions relating to a geographic unit, primarily because it is readily available. Yet such data is useful only insofar as one can infer from it something about the nature of individual experiences or behavior in the area represented by the aggregate number.

We have discussed elsewhere the difficulty of using aggregate data for inferences about individual behavior, especially where the individuals are known to be a population sub-group (e. g., the poor) with special experiences. To test the extent to which such inference seems valid, a series of aggregate data variables were collected for each county named as a place of residence by subjects interviewed in the study. These indicators deal with the economic and infrastructure areas on which the study was most strongly focused. Correlations between aggregate data variables and the corresponding experience and perception variables were studied. The two primary questions were: do aggregate indicators reflect the experiences of the sampled population? and, do the perceptions expressed conform with these aggregate measures of "reality"?

The first analysis asked how closely the employment experiences of the populations studied correlated with the kinds of employment experiences which might have been projected if the only available data had been aggregate data for the geographic areas from which the interviewees were migrating. The hypothesis would normally be that the higher the unemployment rate within an area, the more likely that an individual randomly sampled from the poor population would be unemployed.

To test this general hypothesis, data was collected on county male and female unemployment from the 1960 Census, and on male and female participation rates. To integrate aggregate unemployment and nonparticipation, we constructed a total index for males and females which we called "non-employment". The index consisted of the percentage of all between the ages of 16 and 65 who were not employed.

The current work status of our interviewees was strongly correlated with these aggregate indicators of the labor market, but the individual's experience of underemployment and of "USES unemployment" was not. Thus, whether or not the person was currently employed was closely related to aggregate male and female unemployment, although the relationship was stronger for males than for females. USES unemployment (i. e., not working but looking for work) was not related at all to the aggregate indicators, however, nor was the number of hours worked per week. There was only a very weak relationship between the aggregate indicators and the interviewee's seasonality of employment (i. e., the number of months worked per year). These patterns for USES unemployment and underemployment held for both males and females. Among the aggregate indicators, non-employment was more highly correlated with the employment experiences of both males and females than were the aggregate male and female unemployment rate. Aggregate non-participation showed consistently little correlation.

Although aggregate employment indicators were not good predictors of interviewees' employment experience, various other indicators of the origin areas' economic structure functioned very well. The family incomes in the rural area of interviewees correlated closely with the median family incomes in those areas. The probability that an interviewee had a farming or mining background conformed closely to the percentages of individuals employed in agriculture or mining within the county. Interestingly, this latter correlation was true only of the blacks and Appalachians; there was no such correlation for the Spanish.

## Correspondence of Labor Market Perceptions and Stated Motivations with Aggregate Data Indicators

Although the employment experience of interviewees was poorly proxied by aggregate data indicators of the labor market, interviewees' perceptions of the origin labor market conformed more closely with the indicators. That is, the more that an aggregate data indicator pointed to distressed conditions in the origin area labor market, the more likely that an interviewee who resided or had resided in that origin area would criticize conditions in the labor market. Even with perceptions of the origin labor market, however, the correlation with the aggregate data indicator was weak, although positive and statistically significant. Once again, the correlation was similar for both males and females, and was much stronger for the non-employment index than for the unemployment and especially the non-participation index. Also, the correlation tended to be fairly strong for Appalachians, weak for blacks, and very weak or even nonexistent for Spanish-Americans.

Ratios of destination aggregate indicators to origin indicators were established. No correlation was found between the migrant's perception of urban-rural differences and the ratio indicator for the origin and destination labor markets between which the interviewee migrated. This finding would conform with earlier findings on the informal and limited information system from which the migrant draws his knowledge of urban areas. However, the finding must be stated cautiously because of the limited variation across the population in the ratios and the nature of the questions asked. Most interviewees moved to destinations which were "better" than the origin labor markets, even though there may have been variation in how much better. Thus, most migrants would be hypothesized to have answered that they expected the urban area to be "better" than the rural area. The structure of the question did not permit measurement of how much better the interviewees perceived the urban labor market.

If aggregate data indicators are good proxies for the factors which prompt individuals to migrate, one might hypothesize that the migrants' reports of economic reasons for migrating would be closely correlated with poor conditions in the labor market as indicated by aggregate data. However, whether one focuses on aggregate data indicators for the origin area or on ratios of indicators for the origin and destination areas, the relationship between the indicators and stated economic reason for migrating is quite weak. There is no relationship or a negative relationship for the following indicators: median family income, percentage employed in agriculture, 1950-1960 change in percentage employed in agriculture, male employment (whether unemployment, non-participation, or non-employment). There is a very weak but positive relationship for female employment indicators for the origin area, but no relationship for the ratio indicator of the origin and destination area. The indicator which works best, still not very strongly, is the percentage and change in percentage employed in manufacturing. Yet the manufacturing indicators fail to work when applied in ratio form to the origin and destination area.

Thus, our data suggest that aggregate data indicators are poor proxies for the employment experiences and perceptions within the population of the rural poor. Once again, however, it must be stressed that if the sample represented the entire rural population, rather than only the rural poor, the correlation between aggregate labor market indicators and interviewees' economic experiences and perceptions might logically have been greater.

## C. Migration as an Adjustment to Agricultural and Mining Decline

### Agriculture

American agriculture has undergone large scale changes over the last three decades. Changes in relative demand, changes in technology, and changes in the scale of operation have led to a rapid decline in total agricultural employment and to a major decline in the importance of agriculture within the national economic structure. Millions have been displaced from their jobs; millions of new entrants in the labor force who--like their fathers--might normally look to agriculture for their livelihood, have found no new jobs available in farming.

Several alternatives existed for those displaced or not absorbed by the declining agricultural sector. First, they could gain employment locally in other sectors. Such employment might be found within the local area or within a neighboring town. Second, if local non-farm jobs were not available and if the individual had transportation capability, he might try to extend the area of his job search by commuting. Third, if the individual failed to find work in other non-farm sectors (i.e. could not achieve occupational mobility within an area, the outer limits of which were defined by his commuting capability, he might choose to migrate. Fourth, given agricultural displacement and the impossibility of occupational mobility within the local area, the individual might decide to accept the situation and permanently drop out of the labor force, living on whatever other resources might be available--past earnings, the earnings of others, welfare, Social Security, etc. Such an option is most tenable in the cases of women and of older workers near retirement.[1] Fifth, the individual being displaced in agriculture might find some non-farm work, but that work might be highly seasonal, less than full-time, and/or less than minimum wage in pay. The individual in the absence of better non-farm economic opportunities might content himself with such a status of under- or sub-employment and partial occupational mobility. Finally, the individual might choose to persist in agriculture, accepting a falling income as a farm operator, bearing the marginal economic livelihood of a day agricultural.laborer, or becoming a migratory worker going from county to county, even state to state, looking for farm work.

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[1] Thus, studies of the rural labor force participation rates have shown that the "discouraged worker effect" is quite prevalent. That is, when area unemployment is high, labor force participation falls dramatically, among all demographic groups, but particularly among marginal workers, secondary work force members, and those unemployed for a long period of time. There is little evidence of the theoretically postulated "additional worker effect," i.e. of the entry of other family workers into the labor force when the chief breadwinner becomes unemployed. Cf. William G. Bowen and T. Aldrich Finegan, The Economics of Labor Force Participation, (Prineceton: 1969), expecially pp. 493-495. This also suggests that the official unemployment rates in rural areas are quite deceptive in their indication of the extent of a labor problem.

The data collected in our study clearly show the much greater propensity of those of agricultural background in the rural area to become rural-to-urban migrants. In each stream, those who had been in agriculture were far more likely to migrate than those who had not been in agriculture. The strong effect in favor of migration was not found for any other occupational categories. Non-farm occupational background, indeed, disposed the individual not to migrate. Thus, the ability of the individual to achieve occupational mobility out of agriculture within his local area was a key determinant of whether or not the individual would migrate. Table 5.5 shows this clearly.

Table 5.5

Migration by Farm Background

| % who migrated | Farm Background | | Sommers |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | D |
| Black | 54.0 | 31.7 | .224 |
| White | 72.5 | 27.4 | .451 |
| Spanish | 55.4 | 41.0 | .144 |

Among farmers, there are several disparate patterns. Two comparisons were made. First, migrants who had been farmers were compared with ex-farmers still living in the rural area who had achieved occupational mobility out of agriculture. In each stream, those who had worked for others were much more likely to migrate than those who had worked for themselves. This finding conformed with expectations. The farmer who worked for himself is likely to discharge his workers before himself, is more likely to be engaged in capital-intensive farming, and is thus more likely to experience fewer economic pressures to leave farming. There was a surprising difference between the streams, however, in the behavior of those who had worked as day laborers or migratory farm workers and those who had not so worked. In the black stream, the day laborer was much more likely to migrate. In the Spanish-American stream, the laborer (often perhaps a migratory worker) was less likely to migrate. In Appalachia, there was no difference in the tendency to migrate. A priori, one might have expected that the day laborer or the person who worked for others was lower-skilled, and thus less likely to find local non-farm work and more likely to migrate. The data for the Spanish worker is especially surprising in this light.

The second comparison focused on all those who had once been in agriculture, thus adding to the previous groups those individuals still in farming in the rural areas. This comparison examines whether there is a difference between farmers who stay in rural areas and farmers who migrate. Once again, those farmers who worked for others are far more likely to migrate than those who worked for themselves. The effect is even stronger than in the first comparison. The same pattern as in the first comparison exists for day laborers in the black stream: they are much more likely to migrate than other farmers. This time, however, there was no statistically significant difference between the propensities of Spanish and Appalachian laborers (migratory workers) and non-laborers to migrate.

In summary, for all streams, the conclusion holds that the less skilled farm workers are the ones who are more frequently forced to achieve occupational mobility out of agriculture, who experience the greatest difficulty in achieving such mobility within the local area, and who therefore are more likely to migrate. This conclusion is not changed when one examines the farm groups separately by sexes. There is no difference between sexes in the frequency with which farmers work for themselves or others, although males do tend more often to have had backgrounds as farm workers and as laborers (migratory workers). In almost all cases[1], males of whatever farm background are more likely to migrate than women. The pattern associated with migration within sex cohorts of farm background is the same, however.

Ex-farmers both in the urban and rural areas were also asked whether they would like to return to farming. Some commentators have asserted that the worker is driven out of agriculture, his preferred vocation, by technological change. Our data would support a different contention, however. A sizeable majority of ex-farmers in each stream respond that they do not wish to return to farming. This response is most pronounced in the black stream, where only 4.7% of migrant ex-farmers and 11.8% of ex-farmers still living in rural areas express a desire to return to farming, in contrast to 12.3% and 29.1% of the Spanish and 21.3% and 38.1% of the Appalachian ex-farmers. Clearly, in all three streams, those ex-farmers who expressed negative desires were much more likely to migrate than those who gave positive responses. It would appear that those individuals who left agriculture, whether they were driven out by technological change or they voluntarily left farming, had limited desires to return once they had achieved successful occupational mobility.

There is an interesting discrepancy, however, in the relation of desire to return to farming with the kind of farm work which the individual had done in the past. Looking at migrants alone, one finds among blacks that those who were self-employed (and thus presumably better skilled and better off economically) are less anxious to return to farming than were the hired hands (6.9% vs. 15.2%). In contrast, the pattern among

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[1] The only exceptions are that white male and Spanish female agricultural day laborers (migratory workers) tended to migrate less frequently than non-laborers in their cohort. Both relationships were statistically nonsignificant, however.

Spanish ex-farmers is exactly the opposite. Those who were self-employed are more likely to want to return than are the former hired hands (33.3% vs. 21.7%). The solution to this discrepancy apparently lies in the difference between the two streams with regard to income gains from migration. The blacks have much higher income gains from migration than do the Spanish and the relative increase in income is greater for the middle range of education and skills (e.g. self-employed farmers) than for those with lowest skills (e.g. hired agricultural laborers)[1]. In short, while the self-employed black farmer may have had a higher income and thus less complaint about his agricultural livelihood than the hired hand, he also had much more to gain by migration.

## Mining

A second economic sector which has undergone serious restructuring and which is important in the origin areas in two of the sampled streams is mining. There has been substantial displacement of workers by technology within the mining industry during the last three decades.

In the Appalachian interviews, individuals with mining backgrounds were asked a series of questions to explore the concept of rural-to-urban migration as a transitional adjustment to changes in the mining sector. No questions were addressed to ex-miners in the Spanish stream, because only a portion of the origin area universe had significant mining activity.

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[1] Combining the three streams, 51.0% of individuals with 9-11 years of education who had incomes below $3000 in the rural area escaped this bracket after migration. This gain in income compared with a similar percentage of only 30.8% for individuals with less than 9 years of education. When income in the destination is cross-tabbed aginst income in the last rural origin area, Sommers D becomes a measure of the extent to which income changes as a result of migration. The lower Sommers D, the greater the change and the greater the increase in income after migration. The Sommers D for individuals with 9-11 years of education in the black and Spanish streams are .485 and .676 respectively . Black farmers also have a generally higher income gain from migration than do Spanish farmers, .504 vs. .626.

It has long been recognized by students of regional development that the problems of Depressed Areas with mining sectors are different in kind as well as degree from the problems of Depressed Areas with extensive farming sectors. The problem in mining areas is not poverty and low incomes, but high unemployment. Miners, when they do work, earn very high wages. Thus, the per capita incomes of some mining Depressed Areas are often comparable to the affluent suburbs of our growing SMSAs. In contrast, the problem in farming areas is not unemployment but very low incomes and much poverty. Our own data shows this contrast well. Thus, combining streams, 58.7% of those with farming background had poverty incomes (below $3000) in the rural area, compared to only 33.7% of those with mining backgrounds. Only 13.0% of those with farming backgrounds had incomes over $5000 in the rural area, as compared with some 30.0% of those with mining backgrounds.

Perhaps, as a result of this different situation with regard to income, the relationship between migration and mining background is much weaker in Appalachia than between migration and farming background. Thus, only 28.9% of males with mining backgrounds were found among the migrant group, as compared to 65.7% of males with farming backgrounds.

Like farmers, ex-miners have little desire to return to mining again. 16.7% of migrants with mining backgrounds want to return, as compared to 12.1% of migrants with farming backgrounds. For both farmers and miners, the individual who has left a declining sector but who managed to find alternative work in his local area has a greater desire to return to his former work than the individual who migrated. But such ex-farmers and ex-miners still in the rural area prefer, overall, not to return to their former occupation. Once again, there is no difference in the desire of rural ex-miners and ex-farmers to return, 22.2% vs. 20.7% respectively. Successful occupational mobility severs any desire to return to former vocations.

Unlike those of farming backgrounds, there is little difference among skill groups within the mining occupation. Whether the individual's mining work has classified him as a foreman/craftsman, an operative, or an industrial laborer, he had about the same propensity to want to return to mining and to have migrated for economic reasons.

## D. Gains in Income from Migration

Those who migrated experienced sizeable gains in income, as Table 5. 6 shows. 71. 5% moved out of the lowest income category (less than $3000) and 41. 1% of those in the $3-5000 income category moved into the over $5000 income category.[1] The migrants had much lower incomes than the non-migrants while in the rural areas, and higher incomes than the non-migrants after migration.

Table 5. 6

Gains in Income as Result of Migration

| Percent of those falling into Last Rural Income Class who have Current Incomes of | Last Rural Income | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | <$3000 | $3-5000 | >$5000 |
| **Blacks** | | | |
| <$3000 | 20.1 | 5.0 | 3.4 |
| $3-5000 | 60.4 | 61.7 | 24.1 |
| >$5000 | 19.4 | 33.7 | 72.4 |
| | (N=144) | (N=60) | (N=29) |
| **Whites** | | | |
| <$3000 | 27.3 | 10.7 | 9.8 |
| $3-5000 | 44.8 | 35.7 | 19.5 |
| >$5000 | 28.0 | 53.6 | 70.7 |
| | (N=143) | (N=84) | (N=41) |
| **Spanish** | | | |
| <$3000 | 38.9 | 6.2 | 8.3 |
| $3-5000 | 45.8 | 58.8 | 20.8 |
| >$5000 | 15.3 | 35.1 | 70.8 |
| | (N=131) | (N=97) | (N=24) |

What characteristics are associated with large gains in income after migration? Those with better educations (above 9 years of schooling) and those with agricultural backgrounds had above average gains. In Table 5. 7, low values of Sommers D indicate substantial change in the post-migration income distrubution from the pre-migration income distribution; the lower the value of D, the greater the income gains from migration. It should be noted that only the agricultural occupations have

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[1] Income is total reported family income. Because of notoriously poor reporting of this type of information, income data was collected in seven categories (from "$0-500" to "over $5000") and collapsed for analysis into the broader categories used here. For migrants, the income question was asked of the year before migration and the year before the interview; for non-migrants, current income only was obtained.

## Table 5.7

## Income Gains by Education Level and Occupation

| Last Rural Occupation/ Education | D-statistics for the cross-tabulations of current income with last rural income. Lower D-statistics indicate a greater shift and improvement in income after migrating | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Black | White | Spanish |
| **Skilled Industrial** | | | |
| Under 9 years | .710 | .848 | .720 |
| 9-11 years | .606 | .728 | .659 |
| High School + | .635 | .639 | .387 |
| **Industrial** | | | |
| Under 9 years | .676 | .722 | .806 |
| 9-11 years | .650 | .652 | .633 |
| High School + | .699 | .591 | .669 |
| **Unskilled Non-Agricul.** | | | |
| Under 9 years | .701 | .705 | .772 |
| 9-11 years | .689 | .707 | .745 |
| High School + | .661 | .630 | .895 |
| **Agriculture** | | | |
| Under 9 years | .413 | .495 | .792 |
| 9-11 years | .050 | -0.000 | .364 |
| High School + | .529 | .562 | .222 |
| Farming Background | .504 | .468 | .626 |
| Mining Background | | .460 | |

above average income gains. The gains achieved by these occupational groups were so large, that all other occupations' gains were forced below average. Among the other occupations, the industrial occupations had the largest relative gains.

The size of gain in income as a result of migration needs explanation.[1] It is true that the more urban the area, and the larger the city size, the higher the wage for comparable job descriptions. This pattern is shown within the destination populations of the two streams where somewhat smaller regional destination cities were sampled. The incomes of migrants to these cities --Greensboro and Albuquerque--are lower than the incomes of migrants to the non-regional destinations, Balitmore and Denver, but higher than the incomes of non-migrants in the rural origin areas and much higher than the incomes of the migrants prior to migration. Still, it seems dubious that a city size wage differential, linked perhaps to inflation and cost of living differences, can explain the degree of income gains experienced by migrants.

A second explanation might be the different age structures of the migrant and non-migrant populations. The migrants are much younger; many of them are new entrants to the labor force. The non-migrants are older, benefiting from seniority on their jobs and the productivity gains of job experience. There is a fundamental problem in relying on this explanation when dealing with our rural areas. Vested seniority benefits are few if any. The total spread of the wage structure for a given occupation is very small, thus making it unlikely that experience on the job will produce income differences as large as our data shows. Last of all, when occupations and age (or occupations and education) are both controlled, sizeable income gains remain for the migrant population. This suggests that legitimate economic productivity differences between the migrants and non-migrants do not provide an obvious explanation.

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[1] Much of the discussion which follows was originally suggested by an analysis under a different contract, of the hiring and promotion practices of the firms in four small Southern cities. Cf. Abt Associates Inc. The Industrialization of Southern Rural Areas (December, 1968), funded by the Office of Economic Research of the Economic Development Administration in the United States Department of Commerce, under Department of Commerce Contract No: 7-35482. Our subsequent experience in evaluation and technical assistance to the rural CEP programs of the U.S. Department of Labor has reinforced our analysis.

A third explanation exists, however, which focuses on institutional practices in the economy. In rural areas, education is used as an arbitrary criterion for choosing between laborers in a labor-surplus labor market; the educational requirements for hiring appear to have little relationship to the actual skill requirements of the job. The jobs available in the local rural labor market tend to under-employ the workers, in the sense that they engage the worker at less than his fullest potential for productivity. The better educated worker may obtain a job, but that job is beneath his greatest potential, even though it may be among the best jobs available in the local labor market. When that worker migrates to a larger city, he moves to a labor market of greater diversity in which he has the possibility of finding work which matches more closely to his skills.

Two discriminatory factors also occur: discrimination against minority groups, and promotion between occupations on the basis of age. First, minority groups in the Southeast and the Southwest tend to have last claim on the better jobs in the local economy, as well as last claim on the educational resources expended by the communities. This discrimination is greater in the Southeast than in the Southwest, both according to the general public wisdom and according to our data on perceived discrimination. The effect of such discrimination is to make underemployment even more of a problem for the minority population than for the total population of workers.

A second discriminatory form has to do with promotions and age. Promotion in a firm where most of the jobs require only a limited amount of skills, whether the position is that of an operative or that of a laborer, is often difficult to base on ability criteria. In terms of some absolute criterion, one worker may be better than another, but in terms of the ability needed to perform the skills of a given "skilled job", most workers are equally able. When there are few skilled jobs within the total job structure of the firm, many qualified workers in the lower ranks can usually be found. The firm's management tends to choose the workers for such promotion on the basis of seniority. This pattern of seniority--unlike that analyzed earlier--functions by regulating the flow of workers between occupations (rather than by wage hikes to workers within occupational classes). The relevance of this form of discrimination is suggested by the differences which exist between the migrants and non-migrants in terms of their rural occupations. The migrants had occupational classifications which were less industrial and less skilled. The age distribution of the migrant and non-migrant populations has its effects by way of differences in occupation rather than by way of differences in income within occupations. When younger workers migrate, they go to tight labor markets where their prospects of promotion are related more to their abilities than to their age.

One interesting finding in our analysis of income gains is that those with high school degrees and even with some college education appear to experience no greater gains than those with 9-11 years of education. This finding is in accord with the frequent finding of a negative or zero marginal rate of return to minority groups in furthering their education above some relatively low level. The explanation apparently rests in discrimination which exists in higher skilled labor markets even in larger cities.

It should also be noted that there are some significant differences among the streams with regard to income gains stemming from migration. The black stream's poverty group (i.e. incomes below $3000) experienced the greatest gains of the poverty group in the three streams; some 80% rose out of the poverty class after migrating. Overall, Appalachian income gains were comparable to those of the blacks. The Spanish-American stream experienced much lower gains than the other two streams. Within the black and white streams, individuals with high school educations and more fared no better than individuals whose educations had not gone beyond the ninth grade. In the Spanish-American stream, however, higher education consistently meant a higher absolute improvement in income and thus a positive marginal rate of return.

## E. Summary

Perceptions of labor market opportunities in the rural area do not appear to explain migration behavior. Indeed, non-migrants tend to be much more critical of rural job conditions than do migrants. Perceptions of urban-rural differences in job conditions are possibly related to migration, however. Individuals who perceive better advantages in the city do have a slightly greater tendency to migrate. Such perceptions can explain only a small portion of migration behavior, however, because most rural individuals--non-migrants as well as migrants--perceive that the urban areas offer better job opportunities.

Perceptions of problems in the rural labor market and of greater urban job opportunities were positively related to unemployment and low income, although not to underemployment. On the other hand, there was little relationship between a person's labor market experience or perceptions and his tendency to state that the reason for his move was economic.

Migration is closely tied with agricultural displacement and with entering the labor force. The only occupational factor that strongly differentiated migrants and non-migrants was the very great tendency of those with farming backgrounds to migrate. There is a greater tendency too for those with mining backgrounds to migrate, but the relationship with migration is much weaker than for farmers. Also, a much lower percentage of the migrants than the non-migrants had been in the labor force in rural areas. This suggests that young people migrate as part of their life cycle transition to economic self-sufficiency and family launching.

Most migrants experienced a large gain in family income after migrating. Although the incomes of migrants while in the rural area were substantially below those of non-migrants, their current incomes are far higher. All groups of the migrants experienced income gains, but the gains for Spanish-Americans lagged behind the gains for other streams. Those with occupational backgrounds in agriculture and industry experienced the largest relative gains. Those with more than nine years of schooling gained more from migration than those with less education, but there was no important difference in income gains to the group with 9-11 years of school and those who had completed or gone beyond high school.

# CHAPTER 6: EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

In Chapter 5 we were primarily concerned with the general economic structure of areas serving as origin and destination points for migrants, and concerned in particular with understanding individuals' migration behavior as a response to those characteristics. But such general characteristics do not necessarily tell the story of an individual's experience. To say that an area is characterized by declining employment in agriculture and increasing employment in manufacturing is by no means to say that all farmers will be displaced, or that all those who normally work in the manufacturing sector will be fully employed.

In this chapter we look more specifically at the employment-related experiences of individuals, independently of the characteristics of their areas of residence. The specific focus will be on the following subjects and questions:

1) Employment history. What is the relationship between an individual's employment status (unemployment, underemployment, income level, occupation) and his decision to migrate or not migrate?

2) Employment patterns of demographic groups. Given the patterns of functioning of rural labor markets, what employment-related conditions are experienced by different demographic groups?

3) Job search behavior. What techniques of job search were used by persons interviewed, and how was the use of different techniques related to migration behavior?

4) Income sources. Is there any relation between differing income sources (especially income from employment as opposed to income from transfer payments) and migration behavior?

5) Economic incentives. What would be the response of rural residents to job or income incentives to migration?

## A. Employment History

The general hypothesis tested in the analysis of employment history was that negative personal experiences[1] lead to migration. The employment experience variables include employment status, indicators of underemployment, income, and occupation.

Insofar as significant correlations emerged, migrants were chiefly differentiated from non-migrants by their status of being unemployed while in the rural area, and by their lower incomes. Differences in working conditions -- hours worked per week, seasonality of employment, job turnover -- do not sharply differentiate migrants or non-migrants; where any statistically significant pattern is found, it runs in the opposite direction from that which might be predicted by theory. Migrants and non-migrants are also differentiated by occupation, with non-migrants tending to be currently employed and to have past work experience in relatively higher skilled (and paying) occupations than migrants. The latter result, however, is due primarily to the extent to which migrants were drawn from agricultural occupations. Among the non-agricultural occupations, there is little difference in the propensity to migrate. In terms of occupation, it seems clear that the behavior of migration is intimately linked with the problem of transition from agriculture. (See Chapter V).

Whether or not a person was working or employed at the time of his migration decision proved to be an unsatisfactory variable for sorting out migrants from the pooled samples. For males, a routine unemployment condition worked. For females, however, there was no statistically significant difference between the migration behavior of those who were employed and those who were not. This latter phenomenon is easily explained. Many females in the sample were married or very young; husbands or parents were the chief breadwinners in their family unit. The female might well be unemployed without experiencing severe economic discomfort, such as might prompt migration. Rather, the female might often be unemployed by choice, not choosing to look for work in the labor market because responsibilities at home taking care of children and the home. For young people generally, there was a similar possibility of voluntary unemployment while the individual furthered his/her education.

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[1] As contrasted with perceptions of general employment conditions, analyzed in Chapter V.

In the definitions of unemployment used by the U.S. Department of Labor, these kinds of situations have always been recognized. Since the concern of public policy is for the discomfort and loss of production of economically displaced workers, the Employment Security Service and the Bureau of Employment Statistics try to focus only on situations of unemployment which impose a hardship and are not voluntary. The usual questions used for defining unemployment become "Are you unemployed? Have you worked over (some specified) time period? Are you actively looking for work?"

To approximate the definition of the U.S. Employment Security Division, we created a variable which defined a person as unemployed, only if he/she was currently not working and was currently looking for work. We called this variable "USES unemployment" to distinguish it from "regular" unemployment. Most males who were regularly unemployed were also USES-unemployed (the exceptions were primarily young males who were in school or the military and older males who were ill or retired). A large portion of the females in all age classes were found not to be USES-unemployed, even though they were regularly unemployed.

As Table 6.1 shows, those who are USES-unemployed strongly tend to migrate. This variable sorts out migrants and non-migrants better than almost any other measure of employment situation. This is shown in Table 6.2. Nevertheless, there is an important difference within the population with regard to the importance of USES-unemployment. As Table 6.3 shows, the USES-unemployment effect in prompting migration is strong only among the older and the prime age working population, those above 26 years of age, both male and female. The effect is statistically nonsignificant (though present)

## Table 6.1

## Migration by USES Unemployment* Status

*(unemployed and looking for work)

| | USES Unemployed | |
|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No |
| % Who Migrated, of All Streams Combined | 61.5[1] | 42.1[1] |
| Black | 58.5 | 44.2 |
| White | 62.7 | 42.5 |
| Spanish-American | 63.0 | 39.5 |

## Table 6.2

## Relationship Between Migration and Employment Experience

Hypothesis: Migration = f (Employment Experience)

D Statistics: A positive D statistic indicates that as the employment condition improves, the individual is less likely to migrate.

| | Decisionmakers[2] Only | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Black | White | Spanish-American |
| USES Current Unemployment | .113 | .308 | .238 |
| Unemployed Some Time in Past Year | .099 | .348 | .193 |
| Currently Not Working | NS [-.021] | .119 | NS [-.042] |
| Length of Unemployment[3] | NS [-.076] | -.315 | -.287 |
| Reason for Unemployment[3] | | | |
| -No work | .104 | .152 | .207 |
| Job Turnover[3] | .212 | .177 | .266 |
| Measures of Underemployment | | | |
| -Hours/week | -.125 | [.007] | -.038 |
| -Seasonality of work | [.051] | [-.147] | NS [.043] |
| Last Rural Income | .176 | .081 | .081 |

1. That is, 61.5% of those who were USES-unemployed migrated, 42.1% of those who were not USES-unemployed migrated.
2. See definition, p. 342.
3. Stability of employment and non-work related (i.e., voluntary) reasons for unemployment are here considered to be indications of desirable employment conditions.

## Table 6.3
## Migration and USES Unemployment Status, by Age-Sex Groups

| | USES Unemployment | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Black | | White | | Spanish-American | |
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| % Who Migrated of | | | | | | |
| Youth Under 21 | | | | | | |
| Male | 59.1* | 54.5* | 71.9 | 100.0 | 85.7 | 81.3 |
| Female | 72.2 | 67.4 | 90.3 | 86.0 | 85.7 | 79.4 |
| Young Adults 21-26 | | | | | | |
| Male | 75.9 | 57.1 | 54.3 | 47.8 | 78.3 | 80.0 |
| Female | 48.1 | 55.9 | 77.8 | 71.4 | 72.2 | 57.7 |
| Prime-Age Adults | | | | | | |
| Male | 57.9 | 32.0 | 41.7 | 12.2 | 54.3 | 26.3 |
| Female | 42.0 | 31.4 | 63.6 | 40.7 | 73.3 | 40.0 |
| Older Adults | | | | | | |
| Male | 61.1 | 19.2 | 43.3 | 6.0 | 30.8 | 7.6 |
| Female | 52.4 | 24.5 | 45.0 | 22.8 | 37.5 | 7.8 |

*That is, 59.1% of the black males under 21 who were USES unemployed migrated; 54.5% of the black males under 21 who were not USES unemployed migrated.

for the younger workers, below 26, both male and female. This is true, even though younger workers tend to experience a higher rate of USES-unemployment overall than do other age groups.

These results suggest strongly that unemployment and under-employment are not directly the primary reason for the migration of the younger population, although they may well be among the most important factors in explaining the migration of the bulk of the prime-age and older population. Nonetheless, a surprising number of young adults and prime-age male workers (21-40 years of age) migrate in spite of being employed and having non-poverty incomes in the rural area. (See Tables 6.3 and 6.4). Employment "push" conditions appear to be a major factor in the migration decisions of prime-age workers, then, but they are by no means the sole important factor.

Another variable which differentiates migrants and non-migrants very well is income during the last year in the rural area.[1] As Table 6.4 reveals, individuals with lower rural incomes had a strong tendency to be found in the migrant sample. Those who are most likely to migrate are those with good educations but low incomes. There is a high correlation between such characteristics and the younger population generally, but the correlation does not explain all of that group's behavior. Young people are more often unemployed and underemployed, but their higher educations produce higher incomes when they are employed. Also as explained before, unemployment does not appear to be a salient factor in determining the migration of the younger population.

Table 6.5 shows the differences between the migrant and non-migrant populations by occupation. Both the individual's occupation at the time of his migration decision and his past occupational experience were measured, although the latter was measured in depth only in the rural areas. What emerges most strongly is the predominance of agricultural work in the occupational backgrounds of the migrant populations in all three streams. Non-agricultural work experience or occupational employment tend to dispose individuals in our samples toward remaining in the rural area.

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[1] See the discussion on page 347 of the limitations of income data.

### Table 6.4

### Relationship Between Migration and Rural Income*

| | Income in Rural Area | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under $3000 | $3-5000 | Above $5000 | D |
| % Who Migrated, of | | | | |
| All Streams, Combined | 55.5 | 47.1 | 38.1 | .110 |
| Black | 61.9 | 37.1 | 43.2 | .176 |
| White | 53.3 | 47.6 | 40.4 | .081 |
| Spanish-American | 51.9 | 56.1 | 30.7 | .081 |

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*Income before migration for the migrant sample, income at time of interview for the non-migrant sample. See Chapter 19 for discussion of possible biases in income levels due to survey design.

## Table 6.5

## Occupational Backgrounds of Migrants and Non-migrants

| % Whose Last Rural Occupation Was: | Black Urban % | Black D | Black Rural % | White Urban % | White D | White Rural % | Spanish-American Urban % | Spanish-American D | Spanish-American Rural % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Skilled White Collar[1] | 4.4 | NS(.-014) | 5.8 | 4.0 | NS(.-023) | 6.3 | 2.9 | -.044 | 7.3 |
| Skilled Industrial[2] | 5.4 | -.051 | 10.5 | 5.6 | -.182 | 23.8 | 11.6 | -.000 | 11.6 |
| Industrial[3] | 27.6 | -.249 | 52.5 | 35.7 | -.354 | 71.1 | 38.3 | -.157 | 54.0 |
| Unskilled Non-Agricultural[4] | 24.6 | -.297 | 54.2 | 15.5 | -.242 | 39.7 | 19.3 | -.151 | 34.4 |
| Female Sectors[5] | 16.2 | -.164 | 32.5 | 7.5 | -.157 | 23.2 | 13.5 | -.117 | 25.2 |
| Agricultural[6] | 23.2 | +.063 | 16.9 | 14.9 | +.098 | 5.1 | 14.1 | NS(-.014) | 15.6 |

[1] Professional

[2] Foremen, Craftsmen, and Operatives

[3] Foremen & Craftsmen, Operatives, Industrial Laborers

[4] Industrial Laborers, Service and Maintenance, Private Household

[5] Clerical and Sales, Service and Maintenance, Private Household

[6] Farmers, Agricultural Laborers

## B. Employment Patterns of Demographic Groups

In analyzing the employment histories of migrants and non-migrants, a series of controls was used -- age, sex, education, breadwinner status, and decisionmaker status. Clearly, according to past research, the labor market treats younger and older persons differently from prime-age individuals, and females differently from males (and of course, certain minority groups differently from the general population). This differential treatment is based partly on differences in productivity and partly on arbitrary institutional practices. Because the focus of this study is rural-to-urban migration, we will not attempt to analyze the complex relationship between employment conditions, compensation, productivity, education, job experience, occupation, and institutional practices. Instead, we will try to describe briefly the labor market experiences of the rural population, focusing at times on specific age/sex cohorts and occupation.

Overall, the employment experiences of our interviewees while they were (are) in the rural areas would appear to leave much to be desired. Some 46% of men and 39% of women were non-voluntarily unemployed. Of those who were employed, 36% of the men and 42% of the women had seasonal or less than year-round work. In addition, some 7% of the men and 15% of the women were working less than 20 hours a week at their jobs, and another 10-15% of the total work force were working between 20 and 40 hours a week. Underemployment was thus as severe a problem as unemployment. Job turnover was high among workers and family incomes were low even when several members were working. Moreover, with one exception, there was no significant variation in the employment experiences of individuals across the three streams. That one exception was the case of Spanish-American women who were more often unemployed than women in other streams, but who, when they were working, tended to work full-time more frequently, and to have higher skill occupations than women in the other streams.

In considering the above data, it must of course be remembered that our sample was designed to pick up the poorer population of the rural areas and the migrants who lived in urban poverty areas. It is to be expected that such individuals as a group would have a relatively unfavorable employment profile.

In an analysis of the relationships between employment conditions and demographic groups within the rural area, several interesting patterns emerge. Females are less likely to be unemployed by USES definitions[1] than are males, but are more likely to work less than 40-hour weeks, to have seasonal jobs, to have higher rates of job turnover, and to be working in lower skilled non-agricultural occupations. Females tend to be employed primarily in the clerical, service, and private household sectors.

There is little difference by age within the female component of the rural labor forces we sampled, in terms of employment conditions. The situation with regard to age differences among males is quite different, however. Younger males in all three streams fared worse than other age groups with regard to the number of hours worked, seasonality of job, and USES unemployment. Interestingly, except for Appalachia, younger males more frequently are engaged in agricultural work than older males, and also have somewhat lower than proportional representation among the higher skilled industrial occupations. This last result is surprising, given the much better educations of the younger workers.

Within age and sex cohorts, the status of breadwinner and decisionmaker also played a major role. As might be expected, those females who were breadwinners, i.e., the chief supporters of their family units, tended to have much better employment conditions than non-breadwinners. Thus, in comparison with non-breadwinners, female breadwinners worked full-time weeks more often, more often had non-seasonal jobs, and worked at higher skilled (and paying) occupations. Female breadwinners were unemployed for shorter time periods and have work-related rather than family-related reasons for unemployment.

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[1] Unemployed and looking for work.

In keeping with their marginal status in the labor force, non-breadwinners had had fewer jobs over the previous five years and were more often not unemployed by the USES definition.

In comparison with male breadwinners, female breadwinners tended to be more underemployed (i. e., work less than full-time, and more seasonal), were unemployed for longer time periods, and more frequently had work-related reasons for unemployment. In keeping with the necessity of remaining in the labor force, female breadwinners had the same rate of USES unemployment as did male breadwinners. Thus, female breadwinners fell between male breadwinners and non-breadwinners in terms of their employment history.

The difference between decisionmakers and breadwinners consists of the addition to the decisionmaker category of non-breadwinner, primarily female, who moved to the city by themselves. In evaluating the operation of the labor market within the rural area as to its varying effect upon age, sex, and education groups, the breadwinner/non-breadwinner status is the appropriate control. That control tends to separate primary workers from the voluntarily sporadic or marginal participant in the labor force. In evaluating the relationship between migration and the employment experience in the rural area, the decisionmaker/non-decision status is the proper control. This control separates out the individual in the family unit who would appear to have determined the migration decision. The difference between the categories, i. e., the non-breadwinners who move by themselves, is comprised primarily of young people and women who previously were not active in the labor market. For them, migration represented a decision or need to enter the labor market to provide their primary economic support. The non-decisionmaker/non-breadwinner interviewees tended more often to be secondary workers in the rural labor market. Yet because they had been in the labor market, their employment histories are closer to those of the breadwinner group than the decisionmaker/non-breadwinner.

### C. Job Search Behavior

Several questions were directed at probing the patterns of job search by individuals within the rural area to see if there was any consistent relationship to migration.

The underlying hypothesis was that the individual who used casual methods of job search was less likely to find work and thus was more likely to be forced to migrate. As Table 6.6 shows, this hypothesis was not confirmed. The use of friends and relatives as inside contacts was not more successful than going around from employer to employer or simply standing on the streetcorner, in terms of sorting out migrants from non-migrants.

One result is very striking, however. This is a very strong tendency for those who reported using formal employment agencies, public or private, not to migrate. It must be noted that only a small percentage of the total sample found work using such formal agencies, but those who did appeared to be "satisfied," in the sense that they did not migrate. We have not been able to collect data on the kinds or quality of the jobs found for these individuals by the public employment agencies. Nevertheless, the relationship is striking - especially in contrast to the results for the other forms of job search. One possibility suggested by these data is that a concentrated public effort to provide better employment information might have a significant effect on out-migration.

## Table 6. 6

## Relationships Between Job Search & Migration

Hypothesis: Migration = f (Job search technique).

D Statistics: A negative D indicates that persons using such a technique tend not to migrate.

| Job Search Technique | Black | White | Spanish |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inside Contacts | NS (.033) | .128 | -.172 |
| Going Around to firms | .108 | NS (.000) | .250 |
| Media, Ads | NS (-.045) | NS (-.039) | NS (.123) |
| Public Agency | -.163 | -.123 | -.159 |
| Private Agency | NS (-.337) | NS (-.284) | -.353 |
| Standing on Corners | NS (.061) | NS (.120) | NS (-.121) |
| Other Means | NS (-.138) | NS (-.291) | NS (.005) |
| Never Looked for Job | .177 | NS (-.164) | NS (-.067) |

## D. Income Sources

An analysis was also conducted of the sources of income of the family units surveyed in our samples. As Table 6.7 shows, those individuals receiving income from welfare or Social Security tended not to migrate. The other non-employment linked income source, veteran payments, is not significantly associated with migration. This suggests that the hypothesis advanced by some that a national program of income supplements will encourage migration by providing the means and freedom to move, needs re-examination. Our data would suggest that dependence upon employment for income tends to be much more associated with migration than dependence upon transfer payments.

Table 6.7

Relationship Between Income Sources & Migration

Hypothesis: Migration = f (Income Source)

D Statistics: A positive D statistic indicates that the recipient of income from that source had a tendency to become a migrant.

| Income Sources | Black | White | Spanish |
|---|---|---|---|
| Regular Job | .122 | .291 | .309 |
| Odd Jobs | .322 | .359 | .354 |
| Sell Farm Products | .339 | .247 | .174 |
| Own Business | .221 | .150 | -.159 |
| Veteran Payments | NS (+.104) | NS (+.091) | NS (-.025) |
| Unemployment Comp. | .393 | .277 | .237 |
| Welfare | NS (+.009) | -.095 | -.123 |
| Social Security | -.177 | -.106 | NS (-.012) |

6

## E. Migration Response to Economic Incentives and Impedances

As we have shown, the employment experiences and the perceptions of the non-migrants do not reflect favorably upon the rural labor market. One might well ask why many of the rural interviewees have not migrated.

A series of questions were indeed asked the non-migrants in order to appraise their potential for migration. Interviewees were first asked, "If industry were to come into this area, do you think that you [or main wage earner] would be interested in taking a job in a factory or plant?" As Table 6.8 shows, the response was overwhelmingly "yes" in all three streams, with only 13-19% answering a definite "no". Interviewees were then asked, "If you/main wage earner had a good job lined up in the city, would you be willing to move?" The number definitely prepared to move for a job was only half the number prepared to take the job locally. Still the number of potential movers was high -- between 31 and 40% of the rural interviewees in each stream were definitely prepared to move. Indeed, the number who definitely refused to move was even smaller than the number not interested in a local factory job -- between 7 and 10%. It would appear that the potential for inducing the rural resident to move from the rural area with a good job offer is fairly large.

The non-migrants were probed still further on where they would be willing to move and on the amount of incentive which would be needed to get them to move. They were asked two questions: first, "If you/main wage earner in family had a choice of moving to get work in a city in this state or going to a better paying job up north, where would you rather go?" and then, "How much money would that job have to pay before you would be willing to move for it?"

The responses indicate that a majority of the rural non-migrants in all streams prefer to stay in-state and cannot be tempted to move out of state even with offers of high pay and good jobs. At the same time, a

Table 6.8

## Propensity of Rural Non-Migrants to Migrate in Response to Incentives

| | Total Pop. % | Black % | White % | Spanish % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Would Take Factory Job** | | | | |
| Yes | 71.1 | 71.6 | 74.1 | 67.7 |
| Maybe | 12.4 | 14.5 | 9.1 | 13.5 |
| No | 16.5 | 13.8 | 16.7 | 18.7 |
| **Would Move for Job** | | | | |
| Yes | 37.1 | 39.5 | 31.4 | 38.6 |
| Maybe | 55.3 | 53.3 | 61.1 | 51.9 |
| No | 7.7 | 7.2 | 7.4 | 9.5 |
| **Prefer Job In-State** | 73.2 | 66.8 | 85.0 | 66.5 |
| **Better Job "Up North"** | 26.8 | 33.2 | 15.0 | 33.5 |
| **Pay Required to Induce Move** | | | | |
| LT $90 | 27.6 | 21.9 | 12.2 | 12.7 |
| $90-109 | 15.4 | 17.1 | 26.8 | 15.0 |
| $110-129 | 10.1 | 13.8 | 12.7 | 13.1 |
| $130+ | 39.4 | 47.1 | 48.4 | 59.2 |

significant number of the rural population do have strong potential for becoming migrants, and even migrants to places outside the region. Most Appalachians, and a small majority of black and Spanish, preferred to stay in-state, even at the sacrifice of a better-paying job. Indeed, 10 to 12% in each of the streams stated that they would not move for any amount of money, and between 36% and 46% of each of the streams demanded a pay rate so high, that various field interviewers reported back that they thought the interviewee was trying to say that he wouldn't move for any amount of money. At the same time, 9-10% of the Spanish-American and Appalachian streams and 17% of the black stream stated that they were willing to move for almost any kind of paying job.[1] And indeed, almost half of the black and Spanish populations preferred to go north to take the better job offer.

When the demographic correlates of these responses are analyzed, some interesting patterns emerge. We stress that when we are discussing patterns of differences in this context, we mean relative tendencies of some groups to prefer in-state migration as compared to the tendencies of other groups, whether the group is defined by age, life cycle stage, income class, or whatever. The majority in most cases prefer to remain in-state; the differences we are discussing are marginal variations.

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[1] Interestingly, if one uses the Sharpe-Peterson data on the median wage rates experienced by migrants to Cleveland in their first job in the city, and if one assumes that those wage rates are comparable to the job pay which our Appalachian and black rural non-migrants could expect to earn in the city, then in terms of their stated pay requirements for moving, only about 10% of white males, 3% of white females, 12% of black males, and 7% of black females in our rural sample would be rational to migrate north. The amount of money they could hope to earn is below the amount of pay they stated would be necessary to induce them to move. The median wage rates for the migrants' first jobs in Cleveland were $2.08 and $1.46 per hour for white males and females respectively, and $1.86 and $1.29 for black males and females, respectively. To make the estimate above, these wage rates were transformed into weekly pay rates by assuming a 40-hour week, and then compared to the pay requirements stated by migrants. It should be noted, however, that black migrants could have generally expected higher wage rates in Baltimore, but lower rates in Greensboro, than the black migrants to Cleveland experienced.

Young people, single people, low-income people are much more prepared to move for a job and to demand less money as an inducement to leave the state.[1] There is no pattern by education on any of the questions. There is no difference by sex in being ready to move for a job, but women are prepared to move for less money. In the Appalachian and Spanish-American streams, the much older worker (over 40) is also prepared to move for relatively low-paying jobs. The pattern of preference for in-state versus non-regional moves is somewhat different, however. Young people and single people express much more frequently a preference to go north than people at later stages of the life cycle. Generally, there is no difference by income class or sex in preference, except that the Spanish-American poor and black females have a much stronger preference to remain in-state.

The above data suggest that individuals who are at the transition life cycle stage of moving into adulthood have a much stronger readiness to move for jobs, move out of state, and move for relatively low pay and job incentives. Moreover, the age and life cycle effects seem stronger than income or education as a determining variable.

In further support of this stress on life cycle as a significant interacting variable with employment and economic incentives is the pattern which emerges in analyzing the variable of asset ownership. Individuals who own their homes or a farm are far less likely to migrate than individuals who do not own assets;[2] similarly those individuals

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[1] The relative percentages of youth (under 21) and prime-age males (aged 26-40) who would not migrate unless the job paid more than $130 per week were 26.3 and 50.0% for blacks, 37.5 and 59.4% for Appalachians, and 66.7 and 69.9% for Spanish-Americans. The distribution of pay demands for Spanish-American youth was quite strange, however. Some 20.0% of Spanish youth were willing to migrate for less than $90 a week, while only 5.5% of the prime-age Spanish were willing to migrate for such a low amount.

[2] The Sommers D when migration was cross-tabulated against a dummy variable indicating the former ownership of a home, farm, or similar asset in the rural area was -.238 overall, and -.216, -.146, and -.390 for the black, Appalachian, and Spanish-American streams respectively. A negative D indicates that asset owners have a tendency not to migrate.

*among the migrants who owned or still own homes and farms in the rural area are far more likely to be discontented with their destination and to be hoping to return.* The "asset-effect" has a stronger association with migration (or in this case non-migration) than does USES unemployment or perception of urban-rural differences in the labor market. Assets apparently represent strong ties to the rural area, social and psychological as well as assets. The assets-effect, moreover, is not a hidden proxy for age. The effect remains very great within all age groups.[1]

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[1] The D was sizeable and statistically significant in all age groups in all streams. In the case of the Appalachian stream, which had the weakest overall relationship, the D were -.068 (under 21), -.131 (age 21-25), -.219 (age 26-40), and -.172 (over 40). In the case of the black stream, the D for youth under 21 was -.243, the same as the D for prime-age adults (age 26-40).

## F. Summary

This chapter focused upon the relationship of migration to the employment experience of the individual. Unemployment rather than underemployment was found to be the chief characteristic associated with migration. Low income was also associated with migration. The tendency of unemployed and low income people to migrate, while it existed, was nevertheless weak within the total population. It was much stronger, however, for the mature adult population (over age 26) than for the younger population, and indeed for the older groups, unemployment is relatively strongly related to migration. Since the average propensity of these older groups to migrate is relatively low, however, it appears unlikely that unemployment or income is the dominant factor in explaining overall migration.

This chapter also briefly surveyed the general conditions in the rural labor market. The rate of unemployment among rural poor migrants and non-migrants was very high -- over 40% for males. Underemployment was also a severe problem. There were few differences across streams in the relationship of employment conditions to age and sex. Overall, the young, in spite of better educations, tended to have higher rates of unemployment and underemployment than the total population.

The relationship of job search methods and income sources to migration was surveyed. Individuals who reported using public or private agencies -- formalized sources -- for help in finding jobs had a much lower tendency to migrate. Employment-related sources of income were positively related to migration, while individuals with non-employment-related sources of income (e. g., welfare, Social Security) tended not to migrate.

Non-migrants were very willing to contemplate moving for industrial jobs, but they strongly preferred to move in-state and the job pay required to induce them to move out of state was greater than current wage opportunities could be expected to meet. Younger people were more willing to move out of state and for less pay. However, individuals who owned fixed assets in the rural area, regardless of age, were much less likely to migrate.

# CHAPTER 7: TRANSPORTATION

Transportation is an important but overlooked problem in rural areas. Individuals become accustomed to a certain level of accessibility, and have no base of comparison by which to evaluate it. They perceive the lack of health care, limited shopping opportunities, a small quantity of housing, a tight labor market. They do not perceive that the quality and quantity of services and jobs which they find available is directly related to the size of the area or market in which they are participating. Moreover, the size of the market which they can exploit is directly related to their transport capability.

If individuals are asked about the existence of a personal transportation problem, they will answer that no such problem exists. Whether or not the problem exists can be measured indirectly, however. Does the individual complain about the distances to various kinds of services or jobs? Has the individual participated in a larger labor market by commuting? Would he perceive a transportation problem if several family members were holding jobs in different parts of the county? Has he experienced difficulties in his journey to work, resulting in tardiness or absenteeism? Does the individual own a car? What is the relationship of these proxies of accessibility and transport capability to his employment history and to his perception of service availability and quality of life in the rural area? If there is a high association, one can well infer that accessibility and transport capability are playing an important role in shaping the individual's welfare, regardless of whether or not the individual recognizes the role.

The experience of Abt Associates in past research on economic development and manpower programs in rural areas has led many times to the observation of transportation as a facilitating or limiting factor in the welfare of an area's residents. Too often, however, rural county and town leaders are concerned about transportation primarily with regard to the existence of good interstate highway, rail, and air connections, such that industry can move goods economically to its markets.

Little attention has been given to the transport capabilities of workers in rural areas by rural county leaders, by Economic Development Districts, or by Federal agencies.

Yet such capabilities are critical in linking the resident with jobs and services. Transportation is even more important when the area has undergone substantial technological change in agriculture or mining. Transportation provides a transitional link to jobs in neighboring labor markets while the individual (and the area) try to develop new employment opportunities locally.

Transportation is also a critical general link to services and amenities affecting the quality of life. The costs of locating job training centers, modern schools, shopping centers, hospitals, etc. in each rural area would be prohibitive. Such large institutions therefore are centrally located. Individuals benefit in such a situation through commuting. We would hypothesize that commuting patterns in rural areas -- commuting to jobs, shopping facilities, public service institutions -- constitute a very different pattern than in urban areas. More rural individuals commute for longer time periods. They commute longer distances to do their shopping, to obtain services, and to engage in recreation. Urban individuals commute much shorter distances for these kinds of activities.

Unfortunately, there is a big gap between the availability of services within commuting distances and the accessibility and transport capabilities of individuals. There has been much discussion recently of the consequences of limited public and private transport capability for the employment and service consumption of urban ghetto residents. Clearly, the link between transportation and opportunities would *a priori* appear to be even stronger in rural areas. Yet, public transit is nonexistent in rural areas and most small towns, and private accessibility and transport capability in rural areas may be significantly below the standards of most urban areas. The rural poor often do not own cars, contrary to the public belief of many local leaders and planners. Moreover, what cars are owned are often old, expensive to operate, and unreliable. Roads are poor, further impeding the movement of people.

Within the rural family unit there may be several potential wage-earners who -- if their potential could be realized and their efforts pooled -- could help raise the family unit out of poverty. Unfortunately, the availability of a car for the head of the family unit does not solve the journey to work problems of other potential wage-earners in the family unit. Nor does it assist the wife or children who need accessibility to exploit services.

Some of the data collected in this study help to document many of the observations above, which were initially drawn from the Company's consulting experience. The data are in no sense conclusive on the extent or importance of an accessibility or rural transportation problem. The data do suggest, however, that there is a serious deficiency in transport capability among the rural poor, that this deficiency has important consequences for the employment and service opportunities which the individual is able to exploit, and finally that the accessibility and transport capability problem is strongly (though perhaps indirectly) linked to migration. We believe that the data reveal a major issue which has previously been overlooked in research and in government planning.

## Transportation Capability

A variety of questions were posed to interviewees concerning their past journey to work behavior and their assessment of their transportation-related ability to exploit future job situations. Because of the limitations of interviewing time, only a few questions could be asked. The kinds of detailed information which a transportation planner might desire were often not asked, because such questions, though important and interesting, were peripheral to the main focus of a study on migration. Thus, questions were not asked to ascertain distance or time involved in journey to work. Similarly, no measurement was made directly of the specific location of the work place or of the quality or numbers of vehicles which were accessible to the individual.

The interviewee was questioned on whether or not he had worked in other towns and counties, whether he had experienced difficulties in tardiness and absenteeism due to his transportation capability, how he got to work, whether he owned a car (in rural areas only), and what his situation might be given a set of artificial circumstances constructed by the interviewer. The scenarios used for the later questions were as follows. First, the interviewee was asked, "If you/main wage-earner had a job that was in some other city or county around here, could you/he get from home to work every day, or would you have to move to where the job was?" The individual was recorded as to whether he could travel every day, whether he would have to move immediately to take the job, or whether he could commute for a short time, but would eventually have to move. If the individual was able to commute at all, for whatever time period, he was asked his means of transportation for getting to work. The second scenario was somewhat simpler. The interviewee was asked, "If two people in your family had jobs in different parts of the county, would it be a big problem for both of them to get to work every day?" This question measured the family's transportation capability, as opposed to the individual wage-earner's personal capability.

Our data indicate that transportation capabilities were not high. Some 37.5% of migrants who had commuted had had journey to work problems, as well as some 28.3% of non-migrants who had commuted. Astonishingly, some 60.8% of migrants and some 61.9% of non-migrants said they would have to move if they got a job in a neighboring town or county. This finding suggests that any growth center strategy based on commuting first requires a major attack on the transportation capabilities of individuals.

The situation with regard to family transportation capability was even worse. Some 69.6% of migrants and some 65.5% of non-migrants said that a definite problem would exist if more than one member of the family had jobs in opposite sections of the county. This finding is dismaying, since it suggests that the labor market which can be exploited by females and dependent youngsters as secondary family breadwinners is very limited. In urban ghetto areas, research has shown that one of the most important ways in which families break out of poverty is through having the wife enter the labor force along with the husband.[1] Apparently, this option is highly constrained among the rural poor.[2]

Car ownership is strongly related to the above measures of transport capability. *If the individual had a car, he was much more likely to have commuted in the past without difficulty and/or to feel able to commute in the future without difficulty*. In past commuting or in speculated future commuting in the context of the scenario, the means of transportation was automobile, and in 90% of the cases an automobile owned by the individual. *In the case of each measure of transport capability, however, a sizeable portion of those having cars nonetheless indicated a limited transport capability.* Also, interestingly, the weakest relationship between transport capability and car ownership was in the case of the question focusing on family transportation problems. Quite apart from the relative capabilities, there was in addition a low absolute capability. Thus, 64.7% of car owners and 67.4% of commuters stated that their family would experience difficulty given the scenario. This suggests that the status of *family* transport capability cannot be readily inferred from the breadwinner's *personal* transport capability.

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[1] Cf. Joseph D. Mooney, "Urban Poverty and Labor Force Participation" *American Economic Review*

[2] Because of our focus on the causes rather than the consequences of migration, data were not collected on the number of wage-earners in the family in the destination unit. It may well be that a sizeable portion of the gain in family income as a result of migration is due to 1) the ability of more family members to hold jobs; and 2) the ability of members who were working in the rural area to find better jobs, once they cease to be as constrained by the non-availability of private transportation.

In analyzing the results for transport capability, we have intentionally been overlooking past commuting itself. It is clear that there is a major difference in the past commuting behavior of migrants and non-migrants. This pattern emerges clearly in Table 7.1, where migration is made a variable dependent upon transport capability. For all streams, commuters tend significantly not to migrate, in comparison to non-commuters. The Sommers D is one of the highest we found for every variable. This finding suggests that the ability to exploit broader geographic labor markets (and service markets) is a major factor differentiating migrants from non-migrants. Moreover, when controls were added for breadwinner and decisionmaker, thus weeking out secondary labor market participants and dependents whose personal experience is irrelevant and whose ability to judge the situation of the breadwinner may be suspect, the relationship between past commuting and non-migration remains strong and significant.

Table 7.2 presents overall results for the transport capability measures when migration is a dependent variable. The Sommers D shows the strength of the causal relationship. In the Table, the results are shown for indices which were constructed from the original variables. Index A is a measure of personal transport capability, which records a person as not having a problem either if he has commuted in the past or if he maintains that he could commute to a job in a neighboring city. Clearly, the construction of this index tends to be biased in favor of not having a problem, since individuals who have commuted in the past may well have a current transportation problem. Index B adds to those having a problem in transport capability as measured in the previous index those who also have a family transportation problem. It is apparent that all variables indicate a strong tendency for those having problems in transport capability to migrate.

Controls were run for all of the above groups to examine the effects of age and sex. Those who were young and/or who were female tended less frequently to have commuted in the past. The differences

## Table 7.1

## Relationship Between Transport Capability/Accessibility and Migration

| | Decision-Maker | | Bread-Winner | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| % who migrated of: | % | D | % | D |
| 1. Past Commuting | | | | |
| -Non-commuters | 39.7 | | 50.7 | |
| -Commuters | 26.5 | .132 | 31.4 | .193 |
| 2. Index A Transport Capability | | | | |
| -Limited capability | 44.5 | .169 | 59.0 | .253 |
| -Satisfactory capability | 27.6 | | 33.7 | |
| 3. Journey to Work Problems | | | | |
| -Problems | 36.2 | .098 | 40.2 | NS (.084) |
| -No problems | 26.4 | | 31.9 | |
| 4. Scenario - Job in Neighboring Town | | | | |
| -Have to move | 51.6 | .148 | 65.1 | .179 |
| -Able to commute | 36.9 | | 47.2 | |
| 5. Scenario - Several Working Family Members | | | | |
| -Problem | 34.0 | .023 | 40.8 | NS(.001) |
| -No problem | 31.6 | | 40.7 | |

1. See definitions, p. 342.
2. A positive D-statistic indicates a correlation between migrant status and the category opposite the D-statistic in the left-hand column.

## Table 7.2

## Relationship Between Transport Capability and Migration - By Stream

| Measure of Transport Capability | Black | | White | | Spanish-American | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | D | % | D | % | D |
| 1. Past Commuting | | | | | | |
| -non-commuters | 58.8 | .210 | 58.7 | .251 | 57.6 | .206 |
| -commuters | 37.7 | | 33.5 | | 37.1 | |
| 2. Journey to Work Problems in Past Commuting | | | | | | |
| -problems | 43.7 | NS(.049) | 51.4 | .211 | 46.9 | NS(.060) |
| -no problems | 38.9 | | 30.3 | | 40.8 | |
| 3. Scenario - Job in Neighboring Town | | | | | | |
| -have to move sooner or later | 70.4 | .153 | 67.0 | .180 | 70.7 | .182 |
| -able to commute | 55.1 | | 49.0 | | 52.5 | |
| 4. Scenario - Distant Jobs for Several Family Members | | | | | | |
| -problem | 52.1 | .118 | 51.0 | NS(.002) | 53.8 | NS(.072) |
| -no problems | 40.3 | | 50.8 | | 46.6 | |
| 5. Car Ownership | | | | | | |
| -no | 35.9 | NS(-.068) | 49.4 | -.297 | 44.9 | -.186 |
| -yes | 29.1 | | 19.7 | | 26.3 | |
| 6. Index A | | | | | | |
| -limited capability | 63.9 | .230 | 65.2 | .260 | 64.7 | .254 |
| -satisfactory capability | 40.9 | | 39.1 | | 39.3 | |
| 7. Index B | | | | | | |
| -limited capability | 51.8 | .298 | 52.8 | .365 | 54.0 | .324 |
| -satisfactory capability | 37.8 | | 16.0 | | 31.4 | |
| 8. Accessibility Index | | | | | | |
| severe problem | | .130 | | .061 | | NS(.018) |
| no problem | | | | | | |

1. See definition, p. 144.
2. See definition, p. 150.

did not eliminate, however, the significant relationship between commuting and non-migration. Among those who had commuted, females had more journey to work problems. The incidence of problems did not vary significantly by age, however.

Clearly, in all the relationships above, there is an underlying relationship between car ownership and income.[1] Those who have higher incomes are more able to afford cars. Only 16.2% of families with incomes over $5,000 failed to own a car, while 48.1% of families with incomes below $3,000 lacked a vehicle.

Nevertheless, it is not clear which way the causal relationship between car ownership and income runs in rural areas. There is strong evidence that individuals migrate in order to escape poor labor market opportunities in the local area. Whether or not the individual had a car may very likely have been a key factor in determining his ability to escape such poor employment opportunities without migrating.

Owning a car in the rural area among many poor people is closely related to farming as an occupation; vehicles are often secured for farm work which later become converted to personal transportation. Similarly, many of the vehicles which are owned are second-hand, old, expensive to operate, and unreliable. In short, car ownership has a very different meaning in terms of accessibility than it does in urban areas. The extent to which car owners in our sample mentioned serious transportation problems -- in commuting capability, journey to work, and family commuting capability -- is an indication of this difference.

One strong indication of the importance of commuting in the transition out of agriculture was shown in the relationship of work experience in skilled occupations to past commuting. (Table 7.3). Former agricultural workers who had commuted had a much stronger tendency to be working in higher skilled and industrial occupations. We would hypothesize that this stronger tendency is explained by the ability to exploit a larger labor market due to personal transport capability.

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[1] The Sommers D between car ownership and income is .222, where the positive D indicates that people with higher incomes are more likely to own cars.

## Table 7.3

## The Relationship Between Local Occupational Mobility After Agricultural Displacement, and Commuting

| % with Occupational Experience as Follows: | Individuals with Farm Work Experience Who Are: | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | | | Female | | |
| | Commuters | | Non-commuters | Commuters | | Non-commuters |
| | % | D[2] | % | % | D[2] | % |
| Industrial[1] | | | | | | |
| Total | 40.9 | .158 | 25.1 | 23.0 | .133 | 9.7 |
| Black | 46.5 | .140 | 32.4 | 21.4 | .111 | 10.3 |
| White | 40.5 | .177 | 22.8 | 18.7 | .113 | 7.5 |
| Spanish-American | 35.3 | .139 | 21.4 | 28.6 | .176 | 10.9 |

1. Craftsman or Foreman, Operative, or Industrial Laborer
2. A positive D statistic indicates that commuters are more likely to have industrial work experiences.

Advocates of a growth center strategy based upon commuting as well as short-distance migration have often wondered whether individuals who commute to neighboring cities from rural areas eventually move there. Such behavior would be consistent with the theories of residential location within metropolitan areas, which argue that individuals choose their location so as to trade off transportation costs (proximity to work) against density and cost of housing. Poorer individuals presumably are economically forced to locate closer to their work place than are those with higher incomes.

Our data would appear to be consistent with this theory and to suggest that commuters to growth centers tend to migrate there after some period of time. Migrants to the regional destination cities were asked whether they had commuted prior to migrating there. Some 21.8% of migrants to Greensboro and some 25.5% of migrants to Albuquerque had commuted to their destination prior to moving.

## Accessibility Problems

In spite of the significant problem in transport capability which our data reveals, the interviewees themselves tended not to perceive any transportation problem. When interviewees were queried directly about transportation, "How about transportation, do you ever have trouble getting around from place to place, like going to the store or to the doctor or to visit friends?" only 42.3% of migrants and 37.5% of nonmigrants answered yes. These are very large percentages by urban standards, of course, but still much lower than one would anticipate from having analyzed transport capability and past journey to work behavior.

Individuals were also queried indirectly about accessibility problems. Thus, they were asked whether or not they perceived schools, hospitals, and jobs as being too far away and difficult to get to. These questions were not addressed together, but rather in very different contexts. As Table 7.4 indicates, accessibility in all three cases was

## Table 7.4

## Perceptions of Accessibility Problems

| | Total | | Black | White | Spanish-American |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban | Rural | Total | Total | Total |
| % Perceiving Accessibility Problem with regard to: | | | | | |
| 1. Jobs | 60.0 | 79.1 | 67.7 | 74.3 | 61.7 |
| 2., Hospitals | 64.5 | 71.7 | 64.4 | 74.8 | 62.0 |
| 3. Schools | 46.8 | 47.2 | 47.6 | 49.7 | 45.1 |
| 4. Index* | | | | | |
| -Severe | 25.5 | 15.2 | 21.1 | 26.2 | 13.7 |
| -None | 21.9 | 23.4 | 25.5 | 15.4 | 27.4 |
| 5. General Transportation | 42.3 | 39.6 | 45.0 | 43.5 | 34.7 |
| 6. Would not Take Job Training if Required Much Travel (Rural only) | | 38.5 | 29.9 | 46.8 | 38.1 |

*The Accessibility Index was constructed by classifying individuals as to the number of times they identified an accessibility problem in the three questions asked (i.e., jobs, hospitals, schools). The index is thus an ordinal scale with four categories. Individuals classified as perceiving a severe accessibility problem identified a problem as existing on all three accessibility questions. Individuals classified as perceiving no accessibility problem did not identify a problem as existing in any of the three questions.

considered a problem, although much more severe in the case of jobs and hospitals than schools. An index was constructed of these three accessibility questions. Interestingly, there was no significant difference in the perceptions of migrants and non-migrants. Moreover, when the accessibility index was cross-tabulated directly against the direct perception of a transportation problem, there was a non-significant but negative relationship.

The direct perception of transportation problems has little correlation with indirect measures of perceived accessibility problems or with measures of transportation capability. The important conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that the existence of a rural transportation problem is not something to be probed with direct questioning. The person questioned may have no adequate basis for comparing his personal accessibility situation with "standard" accessibility situations as they exist in other areas of the country or as they exist for most of the national population. The existence of an accessibility problem must therefore be probed indirectly by analyzing behaviors and perceived problems in other areas. Other questions were asked, which partially measure accessibility. Thus, 84.8% of migrants perceived that it was easier to get around, to go to work, and to go shopping in the urban area, than in the rural area. Similarly, some 38.5% of non-migrants stated that they would not be willing or able to take job training if the training program required much travel. As Table 7.4 shows, this inability to exploit job training opportunities due to transportation problems was greatest in Appalachia and least in the Southeast.

There is no consistent variation between the transport capabilities of whites and Spanish-Americans. The blacks, even though they have a much lower car ownership rate (56.2% versus an average for all non-migrants of 70.5%), tend to express the fewest problems in transport capability or accessibility. It should be remembered, however, that all three streams express severe problems in terms of transport capability and accessibility. Moreover, transport capability serves to differentiate migrants from non-migrants in all three streams.

### Relation of Accessibility to Problems in Other Areas

The importance of the analysis of accessibility above can be seen when one compares perceptions of the job and service markets to indices of transportation variables. It is clear that the less the problem perceived in accessibility, the less frequent the perception of problems in the job and service markets.

Accessibility emerges as especially important in affecting perceptions of job markets, health care, and housing. There is a milder but still important effect on employment experience, particularly unemployment and seasonality.

The relationships shown in Table 7.5 for perception of a variety of problems and perceived accessibility problems also hold between problems and individual transport capability. The only difference is that the latter relationship tends to be stronger for job experience - and labor market perception - problems than for problems involving amenities. Thus, transport capability has a strong relationship to USES unemployment among men in all three streams. The relationship is similarly strong for black females, but is non-significant for the females of the other two streams.[1] We shall show subsequently that our measures of transport capability/accessibility for amenity consumption are different

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[1] The Sommers D for Black, White, and Spanish males are .145, .148, and .126, respectively. The D for Black females is .147, in contrast to a D of .011 for Spanish females and -.016 for white females. The measure of personal transport capability used for this analysis was index A, which is based on the scenario of being able to commute if the individual got a job in a neighboring town, and on past commuting experience.

## Table 7.5

## Relations Between Problems in Other Functional Areas and Accessibility

Hypothesis: Problem = f (Inaccessibility)

| | Accessibility Index | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Severe problem | No problem | D |
| % Critical of Rural Area with Regard to: | | | |
| Urban-Rural Comparisons | | | |
| Better housing in city | 60.8 | 45.0 | .070 |
| Better schools in city | 56.4 | 45.8 | .036 |
| Better health in city | 86.8 | 68.4 | .087 |
| More to do in city | 66.7 | 62.1 | .008 |
| More govt. help in city | 62.1 | 46.8 | .061 |
| Steadier work in city | 95.8 | 91.0 | .024 |
| Better pay in city | 97.1 | 91.7 | .020 |
| Rural Services and Labor Market | | | |
| Run-down houses, rural | 90.6 | 76.5 | .073 |
| No steady work, rural | 86.8 | 64.7 | .119 |
| Index, rural job quality - severe | 47.9 | 11.8 | .293 |
| Not enough jobs, rural | 94.8 | 73.7 | .104 |
| Index, rural job availability* - severe | 29.5 | 5.0 | .396 |
| Poor job information, rural | 89.0 | 49.4 | .205 |
| No career advancement | 90.6 | 70.3 | .102 |
| High costs health care | 89.9 | 55.8 | .180 |
| Few doctors | 91.5 | 43.7 | .249 |
| Housing problems, non-financial | 30.1 | 18.2 | .063 |
| Housing problems, financial | 51.3 | 29.3 | .132 |

*Index overlaps in construction with Accessibility Index

continued on next page

Table 7.5 - continued

Relations Between Problems in Other Functional Areas and Accessibility

| % Critical of Rural Area with Regard to: | Accessibility Index | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Severe problem | No problem | D[1] |
| Employment Conditions | | | |
| Contact with vocational training programs | 48.7 | 40.8 | .042 |
| No use of public agency for job search | 88.0 | 82.3 | .059 |
| Reason for unemployment-no work | 27.9 | 16.3 | .059 |
| USES unemployment | 48.5 | 33.8 | .073 |
| Family income, last rural | | | |
| Under $3000 | 59.0 | 34.8 | .159 |
| Over $5000 | 9.7 | 29.0 | |
| Job turnover, more than two jobs | 24.9 | 21.6 | .001 |
| Hrs/wk, less than full-time | 18.7 | 19.3 | .001 |
| Unemployed last year | 71.8 | 51.5 | .103 |
| Seasonality, not year-round | 44.7 | 30.2 | .088 |

[1] A positive D statistic indicates that those with higher scores on the accessibility index (i.e., those who have more accessibility problems) are more likely to have negative experiences in rural areas.

in kind from measures of journey to work transport capability.

These findings on the importance of transportation capability and accessibility for the rural individual's general level of welfare are in keeping with recent research on growth centers and rural problems.[1] Brian Berry has found that gradients of welfare extend out from urban places into large rural hinterlands. The level of the welfare gradient correlates closely with the extent of commuting from the rural area into the urban labor market. The more extensive the commuting, the higher the per capita income, the lower the out-migration rate, the better various indices of housing and health, etc.[2] Berry's work used aggregate data and focused on commuting; however, our data is among the first to focus directly on transport capability and perceived accessibility of rural individuals.

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1. OEO has also been aware of the rural transportation problem from its organizational experience in rural community action. A recent evaluation of Neighborhood Center Programs in rural areas concluded that "Transportation is clearly the greatest single limitation on rural centers' ability to carry out their mission." The report also noted, however, that "there does not appear to have been a systematic effort to appraise transportation problems and to develop alternative solutions." See Arthur White, A Study of Neighborhood Center Programs in Rural Community Action Agencies, Yankelovich (Daniel), Inc. (Feb., 1969), p. 12. (Clearinghouse Abstract, PB 183-024.)

2. For the most recent statement of Berry's central place theory of growth centers as well as a summary of his research, see Brian J.L. Berry and Elaine Neils, "Location, Size, and Shape of Cities as influenced by Environmental Factors," in Harvey S. Perloff, ed., The Quality of the Urban Environment, (Baltimore: Resources for the Future, Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 257-302. Interestingly, in our data, when past commuting to work is compared directly with welfare indicators, the correlation is considerably reduced and often becomes statistically nonsignificant. The one area where the correlation remains fairly strong is USES unemployment.

## Relationship of Accessibility to Transport Capability

As one might expect, the index of perceived accessibility problems is highly correlated with measures of transport capability. On the other hand, there is a nonsignificant correlation with commuting itself. Clearly, some individuals who do have transport capability find no need to commute to expand their job market even though they do have transport capability.

Table 7.6 does have some surprises, however. Answers to the question which directly inquired whether people had difficulty getting around to do shopping, see friends, etc., were not correlated with measures of the transport capability of the breadwinner. A correlation did exist, however, with Index B, the measure of family transport capability. Similarly, the correlation of the Accessibility Problem Index was also higher with the measure of family transport capability than with the measure of personal transport capability. Clearly, there are two different dimensions to the rural transportation problem: the journey to work need (e.g., commuting) and the need for transportation to services and amenities. The rural transportation problem must be analyzed from the perspective of the entire family unit, which contains both multiple potential wage earners and dependents needing services.

## Table 7.6

## Relationship Between Perceived Accessibility Problems and Transport Capability

Hypothesis: Perception = f (Transport Capability)

D-statistics: A positive D indicates that individuals with limited transport capabilities tend to perceive greater accessibility problems.

| Percent Perceiving Accessibility Problem | Index A[1] Personal Transport Capability | | Index B[1] Family Transport Capability | | Car Ownership | | Past Commuting To Work | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | None | Some | None | Some | No | Yes | Yes | No |
| | D | | D | | D | | D | |
| Index-Perceived Accessibility Problems | | | | | | | | |
| Severe | 23.4 | 18.3 | 23.1 | 14.3 | 26.9 | 14.8 | 20.9 | 20.5 |
| None | 16.8 | 26.3 | 18.2 | 37.1 | 13.2 | 29.2 | 22.6 | 22.8 |
| | .134 | | .246 | | .244 | | NS(.004) | |
| Perception General Transportation Difficulty | 41.9 | 34.1 | 38.9 | 23.3 | 58.3 | 28.3 | 34.3 | 38.9 |
| | .078 | | .156 | | .300 | | -.045 | |

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1. See definitions, p. 144.

## Summary

The problem of transportation in rural areas appears to be a critical factor in migration, in poverty and occupational mobility, and in consumption. Commuters have a strong tendency not to migrate, as do individuals with adequate transport capabilities. Apparently commuting is a means by which individuals expand their consumption and production possibilities while continuing to reside in the rural areas. Thus, successful local occupational mobility by displaced farmers was strongly linked to commuting.

Measures of accessibility problems and transport capability are strongly related to perceptions of problems in housing, the labor market, and health, and to employment experience. In turn, measures of accessibility problems are strongly related to transport capability.

Transport capability is quite low in rural areas, whether measured by car ownership or by responses to questions about possible transportation-related behavior.

## CHAPTER 8: HOUSING

In the past three chapters we have been primarily concerned with the individual's participation in and access to employment, or the "input" side of the economic structure. In this and succeeding chapters we will be dealing with the "output" side of the system, the goods and services which the individual consumes. In particular, the focus will be upon those major areas in which government, especially the Federal government, has traditionally been involved: housing, education, health and special assistance programs. In each of these areas we will be primarily interested in the individual's perceptions of the services available to him, and the relationship between those perceptions and his decision to migrate or not migrate.

The housing available to an individual is one of the most important aspects of his environment as well as the major item in his budget. In terms of analysis, it is further important because it represents a chain of other services which relate to housing. Housing quality, for example, reflects not only the amount of money which goes to construct and maintain the house, but also the existence of public water and sanitation services and the conduct of such municipal functions as zoning and building inspection.

The issue is sufficiently important that there have been some previous attempts to measure the effects of housing in causing migration.[1] Unfortunately, the aggregate data technique employed is only able to compare overall indicators of housing conditions in origin and destination areas. Because these indicators tend to be more favorable for larger cities, the natural result is a correlation between migration and improvement in housing. As has been pointed out in discussions of the aggregate data technique in other contexts, however, it can show little about the extent to which the *individual* preceives problems in the rural area, and advantages in the urban situation, and acts accordingly.

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[1] See for example, J. E. Pearson, "The Significance of Housing in Rural-Urban Migration", *Land Economics* (August, 1963).

The housing problem of the rural poor is considerably different in form from that faced by the low-income urban resident. The problem unit is not the over-crowded tenement, but the isolated shack. Where population is increasing, any kind of housing is scarce. In some areas, a declining population means that already constructed housing exists in adequate supply. But even in these situations, supply is constrained by the fact that many out-migrants refuse to sell their houses, intending to return, or the fact that the available housing is of such low quality as to be practically uninhabitable. The rural poor frequently own their own houses -- over 60% of our rural sample reported such ownership. But the low quality of the housing may still be enforced by their inability to afford improvements. Many times the value of the house is too low for it to be used as security for a loan, and this is especially true where declining population has depressed the general level of real estate values. Almost no public housing programs exist in rural areas, and such financial assistance programs as do exist are as good as inoperative for the person of low education who lacks the ability to learn about and deal with the system.

## Perceptions of Housing Problems

Of the several questions asked about conditions of housing in the rural area, the one selected as a general indicator[1] of housing problem perception asked about the problem of "old and run-down" housing. Over 85% of the total (rural and urban) sample agreed that this constituted a problem in the rural area with which they were familiar. The black sample group was most critical: about 90% of that group agreed that there was a problem, while the Appalachian and Spanish-American groups responded at a level of 83% and 81% respectively.[1] Age proved to be the most salient demographic correlate with housing problem perception, with the older groups being significantly more critical.[2] None of the other demographic factors -- including, somewhat surprisingly, income -- were meaningfully related to the general indicator of housing problems. Housing quality, as probed by the question on "old, run-down" houses, was the problem aspect which received the greatest overall positive response. Other questions asked about the adequacy of the supply of housing, the cost of housing, the availability of financial assistance for housing, and discrimination in housing.

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[1] The variable selected as the indicator was that which had the highest rate of inter-correlation with other variables describing housing problem perceptions.

Inadequate supply of housing was the second largest housing problem as perceived by the total group. Approximately 67% of the sample identified problems in this area. In contrast to the quality indicator, however, it was the Appalachian group which perceived significantly greater problems in finding housing than the other groups,[3] with more than 75% of the sample group citing the problem.

The two questions on financial problems in housing (cost, and the availability of loans) drew the lowest general rate of response across groups, averaging about a 60% response rate. More people felt that there was a problem in obtaining loans to build or repair houses, and somewhat fewer that the general cost of housing created difficulties. The black and Appalachian groups tended to be slightly more critical on both of these indicators than the Spanish-Americans. Persons of lower income were more sensitive to these problems, but the difference was not as great as might have been expected.

Discrimination in housing was cited as a major problem only by the black sample group, but for that group it was seen as the most important housing problem. Over 90% of the blacks cited discrimination

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1. Significant at the .001 level.
2. Significant at the .001 level; Sommers D value, -.062.
3. Chisquare significance level, .001.

in housing as a problem. The Spanish-American group tended to feel housing discrimination, like other kinds of discrimination, less strongly. Less than 45% of that group agreed that housing discrimination was a problem.

Two distinct response patterns to the housing indicators were evident. One pattern was related to the financially oriented questions, and the second pertained to the other three variables. Males had a significant tendency to be stronger in the response to the financial problem questions. Females were slightly more responsive to the non-financial problems than were males. The pattern was even stronger with age, especially when income level was used as a control. When index variables were constructed to summarize responses to financial and non-financial questions, young people showed a very strong tendency to identify non-financial problems, and older people showed an almost equally strong tendency to respond to financial problems. Income itself was a relatively weak differentiator, the poor being slightly more responsive to both types of problems. The differing financial and non-financial response patterns existed for all three streams. The extent to which these responses represent two different thought patterns is illustrated by the fact that the financial and non-financial index variables were negatively correlated with each other.[1]

As was the case with problem perceptions in other substantive areas, a tendency to identify housing problems in the rural areas did not correlate with migration. Table 8.1 shows that in all three streams the higher percentage of those responding positively was found in the rural sample. Indeed, a relatively strong negative relationship was found to exist between perception of housing problems and migration.[2] This does not, of course, mean that an elimination of rural housing problems would cause everyone to leave, or that if the housing situation were completely catastrophic everyone would stay. The negative correlation seems most likely to reflect the differing housing experiences, both pre- and post-migration, of the migrants. It seems reasonable to suspect that an individual who had encountered a less than satisfactory housing situation in the urban area might modify in his mind the criticisms he earlier held of the rural situation. More importantly, the migrants tend both to be young and to have a lesser tendency to have owned their own home. Both of these factors would tend to limit the migrants' experience in the rural housing market, and thus their knowledge of its problems.

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[1] Chisquare significance level, .001; Sommers D, -.230.

[2] Chisquare significance level, .001; Sommers D value ranges from -.276 for the Southeast sample to -.453 for the Appalachian group.

Table 8.1

Perception of Housing Problems

| | % agreeing that houses in rural area were old and run-down | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Southeast | Appalachian | Southwest |
| Urban | 85% | 72% | 77% |
| Rural | 95 | 96 | 94 |

## Rural-Urban Comparisons

Most people felt that the city had more to offer than the country in terms of housing, although this number was not as large as the proportion feeling that rural housing was a problem. The question asked was, "Do you think it would be easier to find a place to live in the city?" In the total sample, 51.3% responded in the affirmative. The streams were very similar in their response. The Southeastern sample was strongest by a small margin in believing the urban area better, with a 52.3% affirmative response rate; Southwestern and Appalachian groups followed with 51.8% and 50.0%, respectively. These differences are not statistically significant.

As in the case of problem perceptions, age was the demographic variable which was most strongly related to belief in urban housing advantages. Just over 60% of the two younger age groups (below 26 years old) responded in the affirmative, while for the oldest group the affirmative response rate was down to 43%.[1] There was a consistent but not significant tendency for people of lower income to favor the city, and a similarly weak tendency for people of higher education to do so. No significant relationship between sex and perception of advantage was found.

Perception of an urban advantage in housing correlated strongly with migration. As Table 8.2 indicates, there was a much greater tendency for people who answered the question affirmatively to be found in the migrant than the non-migrant group. This pattern holds true for all three streams, although it is substantially stronger for the black and Spanish-American groups than for the Appalachians.[2] The relationship between favorable urban perception and migration is not substantially weakened by the application of demographic controls, although some moderate differences in the strength of the relationship occur. The two sub-groups in which a perception of urban advantage in housing most strongly correlates with migration are those of the lowest income and lowest educational brackets.[3] Somewhat surprisingly, the correlation is stronger within the upper age groups than the lower. There is virtually no difference between males and females in this regard.

The patterns observed within the demographic sub-groups are particularly interesting in view of the previously described correlation between the demographic variables and the indicator of perceived urban

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[1] Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .139.

[2] Sommers D = .366 for Southeast group, .338 for the Southwest, and .181 for Appalachia.

[3] For income groups, from low to high income, Sommers D values were .368, .240, .113; for education, from low to high education groups, values were .349, .229, .243.

Table 8.2

Migration by Perceived Urban Housing Advantage

| | Perception of Urban Advantage | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes<br>% | Don't know<br>% | No<br>% |
| (urban) migrant | 65.5 | 48.4 | 28.8 |
| (rural) non-migrant | 34.5 | 51.6 | 71.2 |
| n | 936 | 256 | 631 |

Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .291.

advantage. Young people tend more often than older people to think that housing will be better in the city. However, holding such an opinion is more often associated with subsequent migration among old people than young. Education and income were not found to have statistically significant association with a belief in improved housing opportunities in the urban area. Yet among the low income and low education groups, that belief appears to lead much more frequently to migration than it does for those who are better educated or better off economically.

Relatively few people who migrated cited housing as a specific motivation for migration. Less than 2% of the migrant sample cited housing as the main reason for leaving the rural area, although about 6% mentioned it as a secondary reason. The number was too small to treat with any confidence by itself. However, it is worth noting that perception of urban housing advantages shows a statistically significant positive correlation with citation of housing as a reason for migrating.[1] No such relation exists between the perception of urban housing problems and the mention of housing as a motivation.

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1. Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .039.

Two indicators of aggregate housing conditions in counties named as residences were used: number of housing units per family in the county, and the percent of sound units with standard plumbing facilities. For migrants, these figures were available for both the individual's county of origin and his destination; for the rural sample, the residence at time of interview was used.

No strong pattern of correlation was found between perceptions and the aggregate indicators of housing conditions. Among the migrants, those who perceived the urban area as offering advantages in housing tended to select destinations with greater housing availability (as measured by the houses per family indicator).[1] There was also a tendency, somewhat weaker, for both migrants and non-migrants whose rural residence ranked low on the housing availability variable to perceive the urban area as offering greater advantages.[2] Both of these correlations were strongest for the Spanish-American sample; neither had consistent statistical significance among population sub-groupings. Neither of the aggregate housing variables was significantly related to the perceptions of housing problems in the rural area or to the specific citation of a housing-related motivation for migration.

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1. Sommers D for the total urban sample, .139.
2. Sommers D, total sample, .036.

## Summary

The most generally perceived housing problem in the rural area was the quality of housing. Some 85% of the total sample felt that "old, run-down" houses constituted a problem. Following housing quality in importance was the inadequate supply of housing, and financial problems (cost, unavailability of credit). Of the three population groups, the Southeastern blacks tended to be most critical. That group was particularly strong in perceiving housing discrimination as a problem; their response rate indicated that this was felt to be the blacks' greatest housing problem. There was a tendency for those perceiving financial problems not to be the same people who identified non-financial problems. Males and older persons were strong in their response to financial problems, while females and younger persons noticed the non-financial problems more.

About half of the total sample felt that housing would be better in the city. This was considerably less than average number responding to housing problem probes, and cross-tabulations indicated that they were not necessarily the same people. The three streams were almost identical in their perceptions of urban housing advantages, but this view was held by young people much more often than old.

There was a strong tendency for people who felt that housing would be better in the city to migrate, and a surprising, almost equally strong tendency for those who were more severe in their criticisms to be found in the non-migrant sample. The reason for this result is not entirely clear. Its principal implication, however, appears to be that improvements in the rural housing situation alone--though needed--will not affect migration unless they also affect the potential migrant's view of the comparative housing conditions in the urban area.

## CHAPTER 9: EDUCATION

Education is of theoretical interest for several reasons. Virtually everyone participates in the educational system, and virtually everyone's participation takes the same general form. The vast majority of people receive their main educational services through the public school system. What this means is that the educational system offers the government -- any level of government -- an unequaled opportunity to influence the behavior of almost the total population. In the practical terms of migration policy, if it is found that the shape of the educational system has a significant impact on migration behavior, then the government has a most powerful, ready-made tool for affecting the migration process.

Equally significant is the relationship between education and the individual's ability to participate successfully in a whole range of activities, but most especially his ability to participate successfully in the job market. If education is a significant factor in migration, it is almost certainly due to a consideration of the competitive ability or opportunities gained from education. The quality of the educational system, or its ability to provide those opportunities, is well known to be an important factor in residential location for the middle class, at least within a limited area (such as the suburbs adjacent to a metropolitan center). Indeed, as these pages are being written the news media are laden with the testimony of people (largely opponents of cross-district school bussing) who state that they chose their location as a means of gaining access to the services of a particular school or school district.

Despite the general knowledge of such motivations, there have been relatively few attempts to assess the significance of education in longer distance migration. "Amenities" studies have included education, along with such other services as housing, health and assistance programs.[1]

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[1] See the discussions in Donald J. Bogue, "Internal Migration", in Philip Hauser, ed., The Study of Migration; and Charles Tilley, "Race and Migration to the American City", James Q. Wilson, ed., The Metropolitan Enigma (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

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Using for the most part the type of aggregated data techniques which have been discussed elsewhere in this report, they in general allow the conclusion that educational opportunities are probably improved by rural-to-urban migration.

In this chapter we will look specifically at the perceptions which individuals have of the educational system, focusing particularly on their identification of problems in the rural educational system with which they are familiar, and the comparison they make between that system and the system they believe to exist in urban areas.

## Perception of Educational Problems

The major hypotheses concerning the individual's perception of the educational services available to him in the rural area were substantially similar to the hypotheses concerning the other service areas. The exception was in the financial area: it was not expected that poor people, whose contact with the educational system seldom extends beyond the public elementary and secondary schools, would attach any consistent meaning to the concept of educational costs. The principal areas tested, therefore, were quality, accessibility and, for the two minority group samples, discrimination.

Of the three problem areas, quality was the most difficult to deal with. Two questions were attempted in the urban questionnaire, one on the adequacy of teaching and a more general probe on the ease of getting a "good education". In practice, the latter question was felt to reveal more about the subject's tendency to agree with the interviewer than his own feelings about education, and it was replaced in the rural interview form with a more specific question on educational facilities. Accessibility and discrimination were easier, and were tested by straightforward questions on distance-related attendance problems and perceived discrimination against minority group children. School accessibility was selected as the general indicator variable in school problem perception, principally because it was the variable for which the meaning was clearest.

The general level of response to all educational problem perception questions was moderate. The school accessibility variable, shown in Table 9.1 reflects the general tendency. About 46% of the total sample felt that "the schools were too far away, and it was hard for kids to get to school every day". There was a significant difference[1] among stream responses, with the Spanish-American group being substantially less critical of schools on this point. The demographic indicators were not strongly related to perceptions of school accessibility problems. There was some tendency for people of low income and low education to perceive the problem more strongly; however, when either one of these variables was used to control the other, the relationship became insignificant. There was some tendency for the males to see more problem than the females, but this was true mainly for the Southeast and Appalachian streams.

Table 9.1

School Accessibility

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % perceiving accessibility problem | 47.6 | 49.7 | 39.4 |

The overall response level on school quality was similar to that for accessibility, about 48% of the total sample seeing a problem of teaching quality. The relative positions of the streams were different, with the black group having a substantially higher response rate (over 60%) than the whites, with Spanish-Americans as before the least critical. A similar ordering existed on the general "good education" question and the facilities question. In general, the demographic variables were even less strongly related to perception of quality problems than to the perception of accessibility problems. The exception to this statement was age, which had virtually no correlation with accessibility; older people tended to be somewhat more critical of school quality than younger people.[1]

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[1] Chisquare significance, .001.

For the blacks, the greatest perceived education problem was discrimination. More than 75% gave positive responses to the question. In contrast, less than 25% of the Spanish-Americans felt that a problem of educational discrimination existed. The perception of educational discrimination among the blacks was strongest among the young, the low-income groups and the better educated. None of the demographic variables was significantly related to such feelings among the Spanish-Americans.

Taken as a whole, the pattern of perception of educational problems in rural areas provides relatively few surprises. The most striking item is the consistently less critical response of the Spanish-Americans as compared with the other two groups. The blacks are consistently considerably more critical than the Spanish-Americans, with the white response sometimes paralleling one group and sometimes the other. It is particularly surprising that this pattern holds up on the accessibility variable, given the long distances and difficult weather that characterize much of the Southwestern region. There was some tendency for Spanish-Americans to be less critical in their perceptions of other problem areas (they were very rarely the most critical group), but the differences were nowhere as great or as consistent as in education. This may reflect the fact that the educational system has something of a special meaning for the Spanish-American group. For them, education -- especially the learning of English, the learning of the Anglo values -- represents the way out of minority group status in their dealings with the "outside" world. In this sense, the Spanish-Americans may be judging the system by a considerably different set of standards than those applied by the other groups.

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[1] Not significant at the .05 level.

In none of the groups was educational problem perception correlated with migration. Overall, there was a weak negative correlation,[1] the people with stronger criticisms tending slightly more often to stay than to leave. None of the streams showed a significant correlation between problem perception and migration, although it is worth noting that in the Southeastern sample (which was the most critical) there was a slight tendency for the more critical persons to migrate. In view of the lack of statistical significance of any of these relationships, the general finding must be that there is no important relationship between the tendency to see problems in the rural educational system and the tendency to migrate.

## Perception of Urban Advantages

Despite the fact that the group perceiving problems in the rural educational system was in general a minority of the sample, slightly over 50% of the total sample felt that the city's educational system had more to offer. That was the overall rate of affirmative response to the question, "Did you think the schools would be better in the city?" More surprising than the rate of response was the comparison of stream rates illustrated by Table 9.2. In both the black and Spanish-American groups the proportion believing that city schools are better is notably higher than the proportion generally expressing criticisms of the rural system. (Compare with Table 9.1, which is typical of problem perception rates.) By contrast, far fewer members of the Appalachian sample felt that the city education was superior.

Table 9.2

Perceived Urban Educational Advantage

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % favoring urban | 63.8 | 36.8 | 52.8 |

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[1] Not significant at the .05 level.

Several demographic variables were related relatively strongly to the perception of advantages in the urban educational system. There was a strong tendency for younger people to feel the city had more to offer; 61% of the youngest group held this view, while the rate for the oldest group was 35%.[1] People in the lower income categories were more sensitive to the urban advantage. More educated people had similarly high response rates, especially among the lower income groups. Females more often than males felt the city schools were better.

The perception of urban educational advantages proved to be strongly related to migration. Table 9.3 shows the overall correlation of these two variables. The relationship was substantially the same for all three streams.[2] Thus, while there were substantial differences in the number of people within each stream who believed that urban education was better than rural, there was a high propensity to migrate among all those who held such a belief. (In fact, the propensity was slightly higher for the Appalachian group, which had the lowest rate of perception of urban advantage.)

Table 9.3

Migration by Perceived Urban Educational Advantage

| | Perception of urban advantage | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes<br>% | Don't know<br>% | No<br>% |
| Migrant | 63.8 | 67.9 | 25.8 |
| Non-migrant | 36.2 | 32.1 | 74.2 |
| n | 919 | 218 | 502 |

Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .299.

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1. Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .185.

2. Sommers D values of .280 for the blacks, .356 for the whites, and .301 for the Spanish-Americans.

The correlation between belief in better urban education and migration was statistically significant and relatively strong within almost all demographic sub-groups. The patterns were quite similar to those observed in the housing area. Thus, members of the lower income groups, characterized above as having a high propensity to hold urban advantage beliefs, showed high correlation between holding such beliefs and migrating.[1] Persons in the lowest educational attainment category showed the highest correlation of all groups,[2] although their rate of perceiving an urban advantage in the first place was relatively lower than was that of the better educated. Similarly, the upper age groups, though less likely to consider the urban schools better, were more likely to migrate if they did perceive that advantage.

Education was not often cited directly as a motivation for migration. Less than 3% of the total migrant group gave education as the main reason for their rural-to-urban move, although an additional 7.6% of those who gave a second reason mentioned education. The number who specified such a motivation was too small for much separate analysis. It was possible to ascertain, however, that there were no particularly strong demographic correlates with citation of an educational reason.

Although one must be wary of the small number of cases involved in sub-groups, there was in the total sample a significant positive correlation between the perception of an urban educational advantage and the citation of an educational reason for moving.[3] This relationship existed for all three streams. No significant correlation was found between problem perception variables and the citation of educational motivations.

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[1] Sommers D values of .313 for lowest income, .311 for the middle group, and .204 for the highest category.

[2] Sommers D value of .380.

[3] Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .045.

The relation of the educational perceptions to general educational conditions was tested using two variables. One, a proxy for the level of activity of the local educational system, was based on local educational expenditures per individual of school age. The other variable, median educational level in the county, was intended to serve as a general indicator of the long-term success of the local educational system in serving the population.

In general, the relationships between educational perception variables and educational condition variables were relatively weak. People from rural counties[1] with low ratings on the conditions variables (low expenditures/capita; low median education) tended more often to be critical of the rural educational system, and more often to perceive urban education as better. This trend was not consistent across subgroups, however. Neither problem perception nor urban advantage perception was consistently predictive of the educational conditions in the chosen destination. There was a relatively strong positive correlation between perception of educational problems and median education level in the destination point, but it was not statistically significant for all groups.

The one interesting pattern to emerge from the analysis of education conditions variables concerned the extent to which migrants improved their educational conditions by moving. Those who reported perceiving educational advantages in the city consistently improved their educational conditions more by their migration than did those who perceived no urban advantage. The pattern is not strong enough to support a conclusion that these migrants were making a conscious selection of situations offering educational improvement. It is, however, consistent with the earlier finding that it was perception of urban advantage rather than perception of rural problems in education that was the more strongly related to migration.

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[1] That is, the county of origin for migrants, and the county of current residence for non-migrants.

## Summary

As compared with other areas, especially job market conditions, people were not particularly critical of the educational system of rural areas. Less than half of the total sample tended to feel that educational problems were significant. The Southwestern Spanish-Americans tended to be the least critical, and the Southeastern blacks the most. The most striking feature of the response pattern was that the blacks felt that discrimination was the worst educational problem in the rural area, whereas Spanish-Americans felt it was the least problem.

Overall, about half of the people interviewed felt that education was better in the city. This rate is about the same as that for housing, less than that for health or jobs. The Appalachian group perceived an educational advantage in the city much less often than the other two groups. The people who felt that the city had more to offer in the way of education were not necessarily the same ones who saw problems in the rural system. They tended to be young people, people of low income, and people of greater educational attainment--as opposed to the problem perceivers, who were little differentiated by demographic characteristics.

Migration was not at all related to the feeling that there were problems in rural education, but people who felt that the city had more to offer in education were much more prone to go there than those who saw no particular urban advantage.

The data do not suggest that any particular type of change in the rural educational system--or for that matter in the urban educational system--would have a predictable impact on migration patterns. They do suggest, as they did in the case of housing, that two different patterns of thought are associated with the perceptions of the rural educational system and perception of that in the urban area.

# CHAPTER 10: MEDICAL CARE

Medical care, like housing and education, is a critical service which virtually all individuals consume. Like those areas, too, it is a service in which government at all jurisdictional levels has traditionally participated. As such, the structure of medical services constitutes a potentially significant vehicle for reaching large elements of the population, and, if that population's migration-related behavior is in some way affected by the medical service structure, then it may provide an effective means for policy to influence that behavior.

The medical service area is particularly appropriate to a focus on the rural environment, for this is a type of service provision whose functioning is closely related to the absolute size of the client population. Medical facilities and highly specialized medical personnel represent both a large investment and one which can be spatially disaggregated only at very high cost in dollars or efficiency. This means that in low population density areas, a single facilities/personnel concentration is normally expected to serve a very large geographic area. At the same time, the question of accessibility may literally be a matter of life or death to the service recipient. The problem is made more salient by the fact that transportation to the hospital may be most difficult or dangerous for an individual precisely because he is in need of medical treatment.

For the populations studied in this project, the problems of rurality are multiplied by the problems of poverty. Medical care may not only be difficult to get to, or of less than desirable quality, but it is certain to have high costs both in actual expenditures and in loss of income. Welfare recipients are to some extent assisted by Medicaid, but the person of low income who is not eligible for Medicaid may be hit from all financial sides at once. Adding to the severity of the overall problem is the tendency of poverty populations--especially those in rural areas--to almost completely neglect preventive medicine, and even to

p. 178 blank

regard formal medical care only as a device of last resort.

In this chapter, we examine the expressed attitudes of current and past rural residents toward some of the aspects of the medical service structure touched on above. As in the examination of other services, we focus in particular on the perception of problems in the rural area, the perceived comparisons between the urban and rural area, and the impact of these perceptions upon migration behavior.

## Perception of Rural Problems

It was hypothesized that the principal dimensions of problems in medical care faced by the rural poor would be quality, quantity, accessibility and cost. The first of the categories was found to be the least susceptible to meaningful measurement. The low educational level and comparatively little medical experience of the population groups of interest gives them little means of judging the quality of medical care against any consistent criterion. Relatively straightforward questions were used to test the other areas, however. Respondents were asked whether they found it "hard to get medical care for people because there weren't enough doctors," because "the hospitals were too far away," and because "it was too expensive." In the rural questionnaire, another in the same series of probes was added to test for discrimination problems in medical care.

The general level of criticism of medical care in the rural area was relatively high, with an average of about 70% of the sample stating that they believed the rural area to be characterized by problems of the specified types. This was somewhat higher than the rate of criticism on educational questions, and somewhat lower than the rate on housing. In general, the Appalachians tended to be the most critical group, and the Spanish-Americans the least.

Table 10.1 shows the proportion of the three population groups identifying problems in each of the areas examined. The expense of medical care was the most criticized aspect, receiving a substantially higher rate of problem identification than the other two questions in the total group. The singling out of the cost problem was most obvious in the black and Spanish-American samples. Second in importance for those two groups, and virtually indistinguishable from cost in terms of level of response by the Appalachian group, was the problem of the amount of medical care available. Least criticized in all groups was the problem of inaccessible hospitals, although only for the blacks was the difference between the response to this problem and the others substantial.

Table 10.1

Perceptions of Rural Medical Problems

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| Per cent identifying problems of: | | | |
| Not enough doctors | 73.7 | 77.2 | 63.3 |
| Hospitals too distant | 64.4 | 74.8 | 62.0 |
| Too expensive | 81.9 | 77.5 | 71.2 |

An index variable was constructed out of the several medical problem variables to serve as a general indicator of problem perception in this area, and this variable was cross-tabulated with demographic variables to identify particular types of people tending to perceive medical problems. The strongest correlation was with education: people with less education tended to be significantly more critical of rural medical care than did those reporting greater educational attainment.[1] Similarly, those who were most critical tended to have lower levels of income and to be older. There was a statistically non-significant tendency for males to be more critical than females. With minor exceptions, these same general patterns are true for all medical problem variables and for all three streams. No separate response pattern for the cost variable as compared with other variables was found, in contrast to the situation observed in the housing area. In fact, there were quite high correlations among the several medical care variables, suggesting that they do measure a cluster of problems which are considered together.

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[1] Sommers D, .169

Response patterns on the discrimination variables, as would be expected, were considerably different from those of the other medical problem variables. Some 69% of the black sample group felt that discrimination in medical care constituted a significant problem in the rural area with which they were familiar. Thus, that group considered the discrimination problem to be of the same general magnitude as other health problems, somewhat more severe than the problem of inaccessible hospitals but considerably less severe than the financial problem. By direct contrast, a bare 23% of the Spanish-Americans felt that there was a discrimination problem in rural medical care. This was about a third of the problem response rate for the other specified areas. For both blacks and Spanish-Americans, however, medical discrimination was one of the least frequently criticized aspects of the discrimination problem.

There was no evidence that people who strongly criticize the rural system of medical care tend to migrate. In fact, as has been observed in other areas, there was some tendency for problem identification to be negatively correlated with migration, that is, for those who were less critical to migrate. This tendency was manifest in varying strength--not always statistically significantly--in all streams and for all of the medical care variables. This phenomenon is similar to that observed in analysis of the problem perception variables in the housing area, where there was a strong tendency for the non-migrants to be more critical of the rural housing situation than the migrants. The relationship in the case of the medical care variables tended to be not as strong, but still in general to be significant.

## Urban/Rural Comparisons

To complement the questions probing opinions of medical care in the rural area, respondents were also asked whether they thought medical care would be better in the city than in the rural area with which they were familiar. This question was included in the same series as the other urban/rural comparison questions which we have cited, and had the same basic format.

A total of about 79% of the combined sample group stated that they believed that the city had more to offer in the way of medical care than the country. The response rate was significantly stronger for the Spanish-American sample (86%) than for the other groups, which is somewhat surprising in view of the Spanish-American position as the group least generally critical of medical care in the rural area. The Appalachian and Southeastern streams, which had been relatively similar in terms of overall level of perception of medical problems, were identical in their rate of belief (65%) in urban medical advantages.

There was relatively little difference in the perception of urban medical advantage in terms of different demographic sub-groups. Only education was related to such perception at statistically significant levels, with the better educated tending more frequently to believe that the urban environment had more to offer.[1] There was also a tendency for people of lower income to share the perception of urban advantage, and for males and younger people to feel the same way.[2] Overall, the pattern of sub-group response to the comparative perception of medical services showed very little differentiation. This is a rather striking contrast to the housing and education areas, where urban/rural comparisons were strongly correlated with age, marital status and income, as well as educational attainment.

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[1] Sommers D value, .039

[2] Not statistically significant.

In further contrast to the housing and education problem areas, perception of urban advantage in the medical area was not correlated with migration. In the sample as a whole (see Table 10.2), there was no significant tendency for people who perceived such an urban advantage either to migrate or to remain in the rural area. Within streams, the relationships are very weak and inconsistent: there is some tendency for those perceiving an urban advantage in the Appalachian stream to migrate, and for those sharing that opinion in the Spanish-American group to be found in the rural area. None of the relationships within the streams is significant. Similarly, in no demographic sub-group is there a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 10.2

Perceived Urban Medical Advantage and Migration

| | Perception of urban advantage | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | yes | don't know | no |
| migrants | 50.8% | 50.6% | 49.1% |
| non-migrants | 49.2% | 49.4% | 50.9% |
| n | 1436 | 158 | 232 |

Interestingly enough, perception of urban advantage in medical services was fairly strongly positively correlated with all of the indicators of perceived rural medical problems. This again is in contrast with the pattern observed in the analysis of housing and education variables. In those areas, problem perception had been weakly correlated, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively, with perceived urban advantage. In the health area, however, there is a definite tendency for people who are critical of the rural services to feel that the situation in the city would be better.[1]

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[1] Sommers D, .149

Despite the fact that neither the perception of medical problems nor the perception of an urban medical advantage is significantly related to migration, when the two variables together are correlated with migration a pattern does emerge. This test indicates that people who perceive very severe medical problems in the rural area and perceive that the urban area is better have a significant tendency to migrate. Those who are critical of the rural area but do not perceive an urban advantage tend strongly not to migrate.

Relatively few people mentioned medical care reasons when asked directly about their reasons for moving. The absolute number was sufficiently low in the total sample to make little statistical analysis possible. The only significant demographic characteristic of those stating medical-related reasons for moving was a tendency (not strong) to be older. Neither perception of problems nor perception of urban advantage in the medical area was significantly related to stating such reasons.

Three county-aggregate variables were used to examine the relationship between medical perceptions and statistically described medical conditions in the county. The three variables were local government health expenditures per capita, doctors per capita, and doctors per square mile.

Of the several areas in which aggregate and perception variables were analyzed together, the strongest pattern appeared with the medical variables. Origin county aggregate variables were significantly positively correlated with both perceptions of rural medical problems and perceptions of urban medical advantage.[1] The correlation between aggregate indicators and problem perception was somewhat stronger than that between the aggregate indicators and perceived urban advantage. The pattern holds with reasonable strength and consistency across population sub-groups.

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[1] Chisquare significance, total population, .01.

Among the migrant group, there was a somewhat weaker pattern of correlation between perceiving an urban medical advantage and going to a destination city which had a high score on the medical conditions indicators. There was also a tendency for those who saw an urban medical advantage to improve their medical conditions -- especially as indicated by doctors/capita -- more than those who saw no urban advantage. Neither of these patterns, however, was as strong as that relating to origin area conditions.

These findings concerning the correspondence between medical perceptions and medical conditions measured in the aggregate further the impression that medical attitudes of the rural poor population differ considerably from attitudes in the other "infrastructure" areas of education and housing. We have noted elsewhere the high correlation between urban advantage perceptions in the general "amenities" area (see Chapter 12) and perceptions of urban housing and educational advantage. Perceived medical advantage does not have this high correlation. Similarly, perceived urban advantage in housing and education correlates strongly with migration, while perceived medical advantage does not. We note further the correlation between perceived urban medical advantage and perception of rural medical problems, a correlation not strongly present in either the housing or the education case. The variables used as indicators of aggregate conditions must be used with care, for reasons discussed elsewhere. Taken in combination with these other factors, however, their analysis suggests that a significant portion of the difference between the medical and the housing and education attitudes is that medical attitudes bear a closer correspondence to an objectively measurable -- and therefore, policy relevant -- reality in the rural area.

## Summary

Respondents were relatively critical of the medical care services available in the rural area. As compared with other service areas, medical care fits between housing and education in terms of the overall level of criticism. People felt most strongly about the cost of medical care, second about the amount of care available and somewhat less strongly about the accessibility of this service. Discrimination in medical care was perceived by the black sample as a problem of approximately equal severity as amount of care; but the Spanish-Americans did not identify discrimination as a significant problem. In general, the latter group was the least critical of rural medical care.

About 3/4 of the interviewed population felt that the urban area offered better medical services than the rural area. This response level is half again as high as those for housing and education. Thus, while people are less critical of the medical services in the rural area than they are of the housing conditions, they are more certain that the city would offer better medical care than improved housing. The belief in urban medical advantage was particularly strong among the Southeastern black sample, but otherwise varied little among specific sub-groups of respondents.

The belief in better urban medical care proved not to be a significant predictor of migration behavior. Criticism of rural medical conditions, however, was negatively correlated with migration; that is, there was a tendency for the strongest critics of rural medical care to be found in the non-migrant, rather than the migrant sample. When problem perception and urban/rural comparison were tested together against migration, it was found that people who were both strong critics of rural medical conditions and believers in better urban medical care had a significantly greater tendency to migrate than did any group which did not have both of those characteristics.

Perceptions of rural medical problems and perceptions of urban medical advantage were both correlated with aggregate indicators of poor medical conditions. This correlation, not present in the housing and education areas, suggests that medical attitudes are more closely related to objectively measurable local conditions than are attitudes in other service areas.

## CHAPTER 11: SPECIAL ASSISTANCE

The analysis of the service structure available to the poor brings us finally to questions concerning those programs and services which are designed specifically for the lower income groups. The three categories with which we are concerned here are vocational training, poverty programs and the traditional public assistance services of welfare, social security and unemployment compensation.

There are two reasons for particular interest in the "special assistance" aspect of the service structure. The first is the "welfare thesis" of rural-to-urban migration. This concept was relatively loudly proclaimed in a number of cities during the debate over the constitutionality of residency as an eligibility criterion for welfare payments. The concept is, in short, that individuals move to the cities because the welfare rates are higher there than in rural areas. This thesis has received considerable public attention, despite the fact that it has been given little support by students of migration.[1] Interest in the question has been maintained by the series of proposals made for negative income tax and other state maintenance schemes. Clearly, if policy is to deal on a massive scale with such support programs, it is necessary to know as much as possible about the effects they will have on migration.

The second reason for particular concern with special assistance programs lies in the fact that they represent existing instruments of government policy which act directly upon the low-income population, the specific population in which we are interested. They are not, for the most part, instruments which have been constructed or used with the specific intent of influencing the migration process, although particular programs may sometimes have migration-related goals. (For example, the provider of on-the-job training is not interested in having trainees migrate, and may make special efforts to avoid such an occurrence. Many rural vocational training programs which do not include an immediate placement objective are implicitly geared to providing skills which would be useful elsewhere.) Regardless of the objectives of particular programs, however, it is important to know whether they in general have the capability to influence migration and if so, what is the direction of that influence. If there is an influence, such services could well be the most effective instrument for dealing with migration. They would have considerable advantage,being flexible, already aimed at the critical population groups, and relatively inexpensive as compared with, say, massive educational or housing programs.

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[1] See footnote 2, p. 6. The logic of the welfare thesis proponents is nonetheless strikingly close to that in much of the traditional work on migration. Migrants move from areas where there are low welfare rates to areas where the rates are high. Many migrants (although no one knows how many) received welfare in the rural area, and receive welfare at higher rates in the city. From these observations is drawn the conclusion that migrants move to maximize their welfare income; therefore, if the rates in the city are raised even higher, even more people will migrate.

This chapter, then, will focus on three particular aspects of the special assistance service structure: individuals' participation in the structure in the rural areas, the impact of such participation upon migration, and the comparative perceptions by migrants and non-migrants of the assistance structure in urban and rural areas.

## Program Participation--Vocational Training

In examining the vocational training area, and the other program areas to be discussed in this section, our concerns and our design were somewhat different from those of the more standard service areas (housing, health, education). Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that while our concerns were similar, the amount and utility of information which was expected to be available were considerably different. Thus, while it would have been desirable to measure the individual's perception of the vocational training available to him, the availability and accessibility of that training and the costs perceived in receiving it, it was anticipated that even if the individual were capable of answering questions in those areas, the interpretation of his answers would be extremely difficult. There were two bases for this feeling. First, it is known that a relatively small proportion of persons are actual consumers of such specialized services as vocational training. The admission and self-selection factors which determine whether or not a person receives such a service are neither consistent nor completely known. Second, the services themselves vary drastically from place to place. They differ in purpose, intensity, form of administration and content to such an extent that information collected is likely to be useless in a sample of the size used here.

In the vocational training area, then, there were three basic questions. One asked simply whether the individual had received any vocational training. If he had, the second question asked whether that training had been useful to him in finding a job. The third question asked whether he had heard of other people receiving vocational training in the rural area with which he was familiar. In addition, a series of questions was asked in the rural survey to probe both the types of vocational training received, if any, and the interest of the respondent in receiving such training.

A total of about 55% of the people interviewed said that they knew of people receiving vocational training in the rural area. About 18% reported having received such training themselves. As Table 11.1 indicates, there were substantial differences among streams on these points.

Table 11.1

Vocational Training

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % aware of vocational training in rural area | 65.8 | 57.3 | 42.6 |
| % receiving training | 19.9 | 17.7 | 17.7 |

Most strikingly, far fewer Spanish-Americans knew of people participating in such programs. This difference was particularly strong among the urban groups, and might therefore reflect in part the fact that such programs have more recently come to the Southwest than other areas, although there is no evidence to lead one to believe the recency effect would be so strong.[1] In any case, the same pattern, though not quite as strong, existed among the rural groups, reflecting a difference either in the extent to which vocational training programs exist in the different regions, or the extent to which the different populations are informed about them.

Those who reported receiving training tended to be in the higher income groups, although there is no means of determining whether those people are receiving higher incomes because of their training or were enabled by some previous income-related success to obtain vocational training. Males received training significantly more often than females. There was no significant relation between age and receipt of training, although there was a very slight tendency for the young more frequently to report such training.

Of those rural residents who did report receiving some type of vocational training, the majority reported that it was either on-the-job training or at a vocational school. About a third who had received training fell into each of these categories, with the proportions remaining roughly constant across streams. It is not clear what precise types of programs these were, but it seems reasonable to assume that they were for the most part not public programs. A total of 13% of those trained received their training in Federal programs of one kind or another -- Job Corps, MDTA, CAP, WIN, CEP, NYC, and HELP were the specific programs mentioned This proportion too was consistent across streams. The bulk of training appeared to be for the white collar and skilled blue-collar occupations. About 30% reported receiving their training in the crafts (highly skilled labor), and another 25% received some form of white-collar (mostly clerical or secretarial) training. The absolute numbers in the different categories of training source or training type were too small to permit further analysis of the background or subsequent experience of the trainees along these lines.

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[1] Controls by recency of urban arrival did not in most sub-groups reveal any statistically significant differences.

Nearly 60% of those who said they received vocational training said that this training helped them to get a job. The rate was highest for the blacks (69%) and lowest for the whites (53%).

A series of questions investigated the willingness of the rural residents to accept vocational training. The basic question was phrased in the most positive possible terms: "If someone told you you could be trained for any job you want, and it won't cost you a cent, would you accept?" Just under 80% said they would accept the training offer, with no significant difference in the responses by the three streams. The younger age groups in all streams were the most interested in training, although age made a substantially greater difference for females than males. There was also a positive but not significant relationship between education and interest in training, with the more educated tending to be the more interested. Neither sex nor income appeared to be important by itself in determining this interest.

The bulk of those who expressed no interest in training explained this disinterest in terms of factors in their personal situation tending to prohibit their participation: family responsibilities, health, or age. About 15% refused on the grounds of already having a job, and 10% simply stated that they were not interested. An ironic note on the victimization of low-income minority groups was that 22% of the blacks and 30% of the Spanish-Americans who said they would not accept the training offered (the largest single category of refusers of either group), refused on the grounds of suspicion. When someone offers those groups something for nothing, they want to know what the catch is!

For those who responded positively to the initial question, a series of further questions was asked to see whether the interest would continue if the training involved a lot of traveling, being away from the job, being away from the family, classes in the evenings or classes on weekends. Consistent with the findings on transportation presented in Chapter 7, the training situation which was viewed as least palatable or possible was that which required traveling long distances. Only 50% of those who expressed initial interest in the training felt that they could accept training which required significant traveling. Following in order of increasing acceptability were: being away from the family for a week (57%), being away from the job (58%), weekend classes (84%) and evening classes (85%). This order of preference was substantially similar for all groups.

### Program Participation--Other Special Assistance Programs

Apart from vocational training, we were interested in examining the participation of migrants and non-migrants in public programs specifically designed to serve the low-income groups. This includes both the traditional types of financial assistance (welfare, unemployment compensation, Social Security) and the newer "poverty" programs, with the principal emphasis on the latter area.

Participation in poverty programs was reported at about half the rate of participation in vocational training. The overall proportion responding that they had received some assistance from poverty programs was about 9%, with insignificant variations among the streams (see Table 11.2.) Program benefits were evenly distributed; no demographic variables correlated significantly with participation.

Table 11.2

Poverty Programs

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % receiving assistance | 9.5 | 8.1 | 9.3 |

Only the one basic question on receipt of assistance from poverty programs was asked of the urban sample. When field operatives reported that the general category of poverty programs seemed to mean substantially different things to different people, questions were added in the rural questionnaire to probe whether or not the individual had heard of poverty programs operating in the area, what programs he knew of, and what his opinion of the programs was.

A large majority of the respondents were aware that poverty programs operated in their areas. More than 70% of the total rural sample answered the question in the affirmative, with the highest rate--in surprising contrast to the similar question on vocational training[1]--occurring in the Spanish-American group. The program of which people were most aware was the Community Action Program--68% of those who were able to cite a specific program named the CAP or the local community action agency in their first response with another few percent mentioning programs frequently linked with or administrated by the CAP (e.g., Headstart). The Appalachian group mentioned the CAP slightly less frequently than the other two streams, but in general the pattern of program identification was substantially similar across population groups. The only other program to approach the magnitude of identifications of the CAP was Medicaid, which was mentioned often as a second or third response, but Medicaid achieved less than half the total response level of the CAP.

Of those who actually claimed to have received assistance from a program, rather than just hearing of its existence, the CAP was again the leading agency. Only about 70% of those who said they had received assistance from some "poverty" agency could name the specific agency, but of those who could, 39% cited CAP. People also cited "welfare" (14%), MDTA (9%), Food Stamps (8%), and NYC, Medicaid and Headstart (about 6% each).

The considerable majority of people had favorable opinions about the poverty programs. Anyone who said he had heard of poverty programs operating in his area was asked whether he thought they were helping.

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[1] It should be remembered, however, that there was a significant difference in the wording of the two questions. The vocational training question asked whether the interviewee knew anyone who had received training. The poverty program question simply asked whether such programs were operating in the respondent's area.

A sizeable 86% responded positively, while only 6% expressed a negative opinion. The Southeastern group had the most favorable response, with about 92% responding postively. Nonetheless, when asked whether they had heard of people having trouble getting help from the program, more than a quarter of the total sample said yes, with the Appalachians being especially critical (41%). The problem most frequently cited by the Appalachian group was some form of partiality of administration (most frequently "you have to have inside contacts to get help"). The Spanish-Americans felt that favoritism and the strictness of eligibility requirements were equal problems, while the blacks, who were much less critical, saw mainly a lack of openings in the programs.

Participation in public assistance programs was only superficially investigated. In questions referring to the source of the family's income for the past year (for migrants, the question was asked about the year before they migrated), respondents were asked whether they received any income from welfare, unemployment compensation or social security. The results, as indicated in Table 11.3, show an overall rate of welfare dependency of about 20%, with somewhat lower rates of receipt of unemployment compensation and Social Security benefits. The comparatively low rate of receipt of welfare for the blacks is noteworthy, in view of the fact that the three streams were quite comparable in reported income levels.[1]

Table 11.3

Public Assistance

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % receiving income[2] from: | | | |
| welfare | 10.3 | 27.1 | 21.7 |
| unemployment compensation | 2.6 | 6.5 | 13.8 |
| social security | 14.1 | 18.1 | 9.1 |

---

[1] The proportion reporting rural incomes under $3000 was 49.6% in the black sample, 50.8% in the white sample, and 49.9% among the Spanish-Americans

[2] For urban sample, the question refers to the year before migration; for rural residents, the past year.

It seems quite possible that this discrepancy reflects the greater difficulties which blacks are known to encounter in attempting to deal with the welfare system, although specific data is lacking to back up any assertion along these lines.

## Effects of Program Participation

For purposes of migration policy, the most interesting thing about participation in special public programs is the impact of such participation upon migration. It was hypothesized that impact might occur either directly or indirectly. In terms of direct impact, it might be found that people who received some program benefits were either encouraged by those benefits to remain in the rural area or enabled by those benefits to migrate to the urban area. Whether or not there existed such a direct effect, there might exist an indirect impact through the influence of program participation on the formation of other attitudes or opinions which are important in determining migration.

Participation in both vocational training and poverty programs was found to have a significant negative correlation with migration. Table 11.4 illustrates this point. In all streams, the tendency was for those people who had received some benefits either from training or from poverty programs to remain in the rural area rather than to migrate. The relationship tended to be substantially stronger for vocational training than for the poverty programs. It tended to be strongest for the Spanish-American group and weakest for the Appalachian whites. Within demographic subgroups, the negative correlation between participation in vocational training was consistently strong. The poverty program correlation was generally in the same direction, but not significant.

Receipt of benefits from public assistance programs proved less important. Receipt of welfare and Social Security income tended to correlate negatively with migration (those who received such income tended more often to be found in the rural area than the city), but at less significant levels than the training and poverty program variables. Interestingly,

### Table 11.4

### Program Participation

### Correlations with Migration

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sommers D* value of correlation with migrant/ non-migrant status | | | |
| Vocational training | -.163 | -.099 | -.246 |
| Poverty program | -.074 | -.045 | -.093 |
| Welfare | .009 | -.095 | -.123 |
| Unemployment compensation | .393 | .277 | .237 |
| Social Security | -.177 | -.106 | -.012 |

*A positive D statistic indicates that persons receiving income from the source named were more likely to be migrants.

welfare was negatively correlated at a relatively strong level in only one demographic sub-group: the lowest income group.[1] Receipt of unemployment compensation, by contrast, was positively correlated with migration at relatively strong levels. However, this variable represents rather special conditions (current unemployment, but past employment within a specified time period) which merely identify a group we already know to have a high migration rate; this is a proxy variable representing antecedent conditions, but not important in itself. It is worth noting, however, that the behavior of this variable tends to be opposite to that of the other variables which represent the receipt of some kind of benefit from the program and assistance system.

In addition to the apparent direct impact of participation in vocational training and poverty programs upon migration, there exist similarly strong correlations between receipt of training[2] and other migration-related variables. Reported participation in vocational training was cross-tabulated against the indicator variables selected as most representative of perceptions in the economic, service and amenities structure areas. Almost without exception, the people who had received vocational training held perceptions significantly more favorable to the rural area. Table 11.5 presents the four strongest areas of correlation: they are precisely with those variables which elsewhere have been found to be most significantly related to migration.

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[1] Sommers D value of -.176.

[2] The absolute numbers who had received poverty program assistance were too small for much analysis. In general correlations of this variable appeared to be in the same direction as those of the training variable, but at a lower significance level.

Table 11.5

Vocational Training Correlations with Perception Indicators

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sommers D* value of correlation between participation in vocational training and: | | | |
| (1) perceived rural accessibility problem | -.195 | -.066[1] | -.058[1] |
| (2) perceived urban housing advantage | -.136 | -.123 | -.199 |
| (3) perceived urban education advantage | -.132 | -.122 | -.150 |
| (4) perceived urban amenities advantage | -.087 | -.132 | -.260 |

*A positive D statistic would indicate that people who had received vocational training were more likely to hold the stated perception.

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1. Not significant at the .05 level.

Although Table 11.5 shows mainly correlations with urban-rural comparison variables, the correlations of vocational training with problem perceptions are in the same direction, albeit not as strong. This is particularly important in view of the common pattern of negative correlation between problem perceptions and urban advantage perceptions, but apparent linkage between the two types of perceptions in the migration process. The variables of participation in vocational training (and, to a lesser extent, poverty program participation), is unique in that it (1) represents a policy-manipulable device, and (2) is correlated consistently in an anti-migration direction with major perception variables.

In this section we have been primarily concerned with the results of participation in special assistance programs. Mere awareness of the existence of such services may also have a significant impact, however. Indeed, as we have ssen in the multivariate analysis, knowledge of the existence of vocational training programs was one of the variables most strongly associated with migration behavior. People who said they knew of other people receiving vocational training in the rural area were much less frequently found in the migrant group. This correlation was observed in all streams.[1] Of particular interest is the fact that the correlation was very strong for the youngest age group -- and thus, for the largest segment of the potential migrants.

## Urban-Rural Comparisons

In addition to testing the extent and impact of participation in special service programs in the rural area, it was strongly desired to examine migrant and non-migrant perceptions of the relative attractiveness of urban and rural areas in that respect. This analysis was especially desirable to test the welfare thesis of migration. It was difficult to test the thesis, both because it was anticipated that individuals might be reluctant to talk about welfare (and especially to admit to moving to get on the welfare rolls of the destination place), and because even if they were willing to talk it was not anticipated that specific statements on points such as welfare rates would be accurate or easily comparable. Two questions were finally selected. One asked the individual whether he thought it would be easier to "get help from government programs" in the city than in the rural area. The second question was slightly more complex: "If a family had to ask for help from the government because they didn't have enough to eat, or enough money to live on, do you think they would be better off in the country or the city?" In the urban area, the migrant was also asked specifically whether he held his expressed view before moving. A third variable was created using the two responses in combination to represent an awareness in the rural area of this type of welfare differential.

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[1] Sommers D value of -.330 for the blacks, -.178 for the Appalachian group, and -.411 for the Spanish-Americans.

A relatively small majority of the sample responded to both of the basic questions with a feeling that the urban area had more to offer in terms of program or poverty assistance. Some 57% of the total sample felt that it would be easier to get help from the government programs in the city, and 52% felt that the poor person would be better off in the city than in the country. In the urban sample, over half of those who stated that the poor would be better off in the city answered the follow-up question negatively, saying that they did not know about this difference before migrating.[1] With this correction taken into account,

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1. There is, of course, some question as to the validity of response to the question. The question amounts to a challenge to an expressed viewpoint, and it is possible that an overly high number of people might have backed down.

a total of less than 35% of the combined sample reported an awareness of a welfare differential favoring the city.

Table 11.6 shows the differences among the streams on these three variables. As is readily evident, the most notable difference is that between the Appalachian whites and the other two groups, the whites consistently less frequently believe that the city has more to offer. The blacks have the highest overall city-oriented response, with the Spanish-Americans somewhat lower on two of the three variables. The strongest demographic correlate of the assistance comparison variables was age, young people tending more strongly than older people to perceive an urban advantage. Income was less strongly related; there was a tendency for members of the lower income groups to perceive a greater urban advantage, but this was not a consistently significant relationship within sub-groups. There was a slight tendency for the more educated to favor the city. There was no significant correlation between sex and perception of urban advantage in the assistance area.

Table 11.6

Perceptions of Urban Assistance Advantage

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % favoring city on | | | |
| more help from programs | 61.6 | 48.0 | 61.2 |
| better place for poor people | 58.3 | 48.1 | 51.1 |
| aware of welfare differential | 40.6 | 28.2 | 32.2 |

There was no strong correlation between perception of an urban assistance advantage and migration. Only one of the three variables was strongly correlated in the positive direction, and that was the "poor better off in the city" question, which asked migrants about their current perceptions rather than those of the rural area. Using the corrected "welfare differential awareness" variable, the correlation was still positive but not as strong. The "more help from programs" variable was slightly negatively correlated with migration for the total sample.

On all three variables, the Southeastern sample group had the least positive correlation between perception of an urban advantage and migration. On the welfare differential and government programs variables the correlation was negative. On the "poor better off" variable, the correlation was positive, but less so for the blacks than for the other two groups.[1] Controlling for demographic variables had much the same effect observed in testing housing and educational variables: no change in the general trends, with some sub-groups (lower income and education, upper age brackets) showing somewhat stronger correlations than others.

The analysis of these three variables does not produce as conclusive a pattern as one would wish when dealing with such a volatile subject as the welfare thesis. There is some overall tendency for people who reported belief in a welfare differential to migrate, although it is not a strong tendency. But seen in the context of some of the other variables we have analyzed in this report this is a very weak response. Neither of the two variables based on rural perceptions (as opposed to the "poor better off" question, which obtained the migrant's opinion as formed by city experience) show the strength of the urban/rural comparison indicators for housing, education or general "attractiveness." The assistance comparison variables do seem to fit into the same general pattern of these other indicators, in terms, for example, of their demographic correlates, but simply not to be as strong in determining migration.

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1. Sommers D value of .301, as opposed to .432 for the whites and .419 for the Spanish-Americans.

It is particularly interesting that while most of the welfare thesis proponents have had the problem of black in-migrants in mind, this was the group which consistently showed the least tendency to move in response to a perceived welfare advantage. Although a somewhat higher proportion of the blacks appear to feel that the city does offer more program and poverty assistance than the country, in a relatively lesser proportion of the group is this feeling associated with migration.

## Summary

The existence of vocational training and "poverty" programs in rural areas was known to most of the people interviewed. Slightly under 20% of those interviewed had actually received some kind of vocational training, and about half that number reported receiving assistance from a poverty program. The levels of receipt of assistance were substantially equal for the three population groups. A total of about 20% of the sample reported receiving income from welfare payments in the rural area, with these rates being much higher in the Appalachian and Southwestern than the Southeastern sample groups.

Vocational training tended primarily to be on-the-job training or training at a regular vocational school rather than a part of identifiable public programs. Training was predominantly for white-collar or skilled blue-collar positions. The majority of those receiving training said that it helped them to get a job. A large majority (80%) of the sample expressed interest in receiving training. Half of those expressing interest, however, said that they could not accept training if it involved traveling long distances. Of several possible impediments to training, the alternatives which suited most people were evening and weekend classes.

Most people who said they knew of the existence of poverty programs mentioned the Community Action Program, and most who reported receiving some form of assistance stated that it came from this source. A large majority of the rural residents who said they knew of poverty programs had a favorable opinion of those programs. Even so, many said that they had heard of problems connected with receiving program benefits, with most people mentioning specifically a need for "inside contacts" or the restrictiveness of the eligibility requirements. Knowledge of the existence of vocational training opportunities in the rural area was strongly correlated with non-migration. Receiving either vocational training programs or poverty program benefits was also associated with not leaving the rural area, with the vocational training correlation being the stronger. Receipt of such benefits was also related to being less critical of the rural area and less favorable toward the urban area in a variety of problem areas which are associated with migration.

A small majority of the sample felt that the urban area had more to offer in terms of government assistance. This perception was not consistently associated with migrating or not migrating, as the two principal variables were associated with migration in opposing directions. The "welfare thesis" of migration is not supported by these tests, especially in the context of much stronger associations found in other substantive areas.

## CHAPTER 12: SOCIAL AND PERSONAL FACTORS

In previous chapters we have focused on components of the economic (principally job) and service structure which were hypothesized to have some relationship to rural-to-urban migration of low-income people. These areas were selected for the deepest attention primarily because they are the areas in which government activity has been traditional, and thus the areas in which public policy on migration would be most likely to be implemented.

At the same time, we realize that there are a host of factors less susceptible to influence by public policy which may nonetheless be significantly related to migration. Some such factors were considered to be totally outside the feasible scope of the current study. Among these, we number in particular psychological factors, the personal characteristics which may have much to do with how a particular individual responds to a situation which calls for a decision to migrate or not migrate. Similarly, anthropologists may regret our lack of attention to the relation of the cultural values of the three population groups to the migration process.

A few areas less directly influenced by policy were touched on, however. Because of the particular concern of the study with individuals' migration-related responses to perceived aspects of their rural and potential urban environment, some investigation was undertaken of respondents' perception of amenities--consumption opportunities and general attractiveness--and discrimination in the two environments. Since policy must frequently be directed towards groups who are presumed to behave similarly because they are in, or passing through, certain vaguely defined "stages" of life, some attention was devoted to the relation of "life cycle" to migration. This chapter focuses, then, on the effects on migration of amenities, discrimination, and the life cycle.

p. 206 blank

## A. Amenities

Amenities, in migration studies or in the creation of welfare functions tends to be whatever is left over after all major categories have been established. That is approximately what it means here, except that we have established a few more major categories than tends to be the norm. Specifically, we are attempting to deal with the concept of the general "attractiveness" of the city, which is often given as a reason for migration, particularly of the young. We hypothesized initially that there might be several tangible facets to this concept, including particularly the private consumption possibilities and the different inter-personal environment offered by the city.

Four questions were developed to deal with these factors. All of the questions were of the urban/rural comparison variety, since it was expected that the "bright lights" attractiveness of the city would not necessarily be related to perceptions of any particular characteristic or set of characteristics in the rural area. Two of the questions related fairly directly to the individual's economic dealings, focusing on cost of living ("Did you think it would cost less to live in the city?") and opportunities for shopping ("Did you think it would be easier to find things you wanted to buy?"). A third question went more generally into the individual's ability to enjoy the environment: "Did you think there would be more things you'd like to do in the city?" The final question attempted to probe perceptions of the inter-personal aspects of city life. The question asked in the urban interview was, "Did you think there would be more interesting people in the city?" When the interviewers reported that this question seemed to be generating responses of very uncertain comparability, the question was re-worded for the rural interviews to read, "Do you think you would enjoy the social life more in the city?"[1]

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[1] In some respect, the replacement proved even less desirable than the original. We appeared to have inadvertently hit on a term used in some localities as a euphemism for sex life, and in these areas there was considerable snickering when the question was asked.

Analysis of the inter-relationships among the variables showed that they were not all measuring the same phenomenon. Neither the cost-of-living perception nor the shopping opportunities perception seemed to "belong" with the other two indicators. Nor, for that matter, did they belong together; there was a lower correlation between the cost-of-living and shopping variables than there was between each of those variables and the two more general indicators. The two versions of the "social life" indicator did give the impression that they were measuring the same phenomenon, and when combined had a very high positive correlation with the "more to do" variable.[1] Because of the different wordings of the urban and rural question, however, this variable was not generally used in analysis. The "more to do" variable which in any case had the higher inter-correlations with the other variables, was used as the "attractiveness" indicator for most purposes.

What this pattern suggests is that in the amenities or attractiveness area the whole is greater than the sum of its measurable parts. There seems no question that the "more to do" indicator in particular is reflecting a significant and strong pattern of behavior and thought. Of all the indicators of perception, none was as strongly differentiated within demographic sub-groups as the attractiveness variable. There was a strong tendency for younger people to respond positively to the "more to do" question. In the total sample, some 84% of the persons under 26 felt that the city offered more to do, while only 39% of the age group over 40 held that opinion.[2] Females in general felt the attractiveness of the city more than males. More educated people were considerably more favorable toward the city than the less educated groups. People within lower income groups tended to perceive the city as more attractive in this respect than people reporting higher incomes.

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1. Sommers D value, .603.
2. Sommers D value, .272.

As table 12.1 indicates, there was considerable variation in the overall degree of favor with which the city was regarded. The two relatively specific, economics-related questions define the extremes of the range, the greatest proportion of people feeling that the city offered better shopping opportunities, and the smallest believing the cost of living in the city to be lower. (The extent to which these responses reflect objectively measurable differences between rural and urban situations is worth noting for evaluating the general credibility of urban/rural comparisons.) A moderate majority of the total group (slightly over 60%) responded positively on the "more to do" question, the general indicator of urban attractiveness.

There is a striking pattern in the responses of the different population groups to the amenities questions. On the general attractiveness questions, there is a clear range of response, with the blacks being most favorable to the city, the Spanish-Americans in the middle, and the Appalachians the least favorable. The range is much narrower on the other two questions, with the outstanding features of the response pattern being the Spanish-American preference for the city in terms of shopping and the Appalachian group's negative view of the urban cost of living.

Table 12. 1

Urban Amenities Advantage

| | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % perceiving urban advantage in: | | | |
| more to do - | 69.6 | 51.9 | 64.2 |
| cost of living | 21.3 | 13.2 | 19.7 |
| shopping | 82.4 | 80.1 | 92.1 |
| social life | 57.7 | 37.8 | 51.7 |

This comparison of stream responses reflects a general pattern which we have seen in the opinions of the three groups toward the city. Looking at the total pattern of our findings in different problem areas, it can be seen that the Southeastern blacks tend to be somewhat more positively disposed toward the city than the Southwestern Spanish-Americans, who in turn tend to be more favorable than the Appalachian whites. Exceptions to the pattern, and there are many, usually reflect specific differences in the different regional environments. Thus, in the set of responses we have just been considering, the particularly high Spanish-American response to the shopping question is related to the fact that Southwestern towns tend to be smaller and more widely separated than those in Appalachia or the Southeast, and to offer a smaller range of consumption opportunities.

There was an extremely strong observed tendency for people who perceived the city as more generally attractive than the country to move there. The correlation between a positive response on the "more to do" indicator and migration was the highest observed for any perception indicator. And, as discussed earlier, this variable had the greatest explanatory power of any in the multivariate analysis. Table 12.2 shows the basic correlation.

Table 12.2

Perceived Urban Attractiveness and Migration

|  | more to do in the city |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | yes<br>% | don't know<br>% | no<br>% |
| (urban) migrants | 70.4 | 35.8 | 14.9 |
| (rural) non-migrants | 29.6 | 64.2 | 85.1 |
| n= | 1125 | 109 | 590 |

Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, .499

The high correlation between perceived attractiveness and migration held within all stream and demographic groups, with relatively little variation in predictive power. The strength of the correlation within streams varied slightly in inverse proportion to the level of response: it was strongest for the Appalachian group, next for the Spanish-Americans, and least strong for the Southeastern blacks. The correlation was very strong for all three groups however, and the range of difference not very great.[1] The correlation was very strong within all age, sex, income and education sub-groups, with the range of strength being as great as between streams.

It appears, then, that one of the fundamental determinants of migration is the extent to which the individual finds the city generally attractive in comparison to the rural area. It does not seem possible to break this feeling down into a series of perceptions of different aspects of the urban and rural environments, although there is a strong tendency for people who feel that the city is generally more attractive to believe also that it offers more in the way of education, housing and program assistance, medical care, jobs, and transportation advantages. These relationships tend to be strongest in the general area we have labeled the structure of consumption services, expecially education, housing and program assistance. There is no basis for assuming a causal link in either direction of this latter association, however, and within different groups there are different patterns to this association. Thus, the "attractiveness" element seems to represent the central element in a cluster of attitudes, which, taken in a variety of combinations, lead strongly to migration.

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[1] Sommers D value of .568 for the Appalachian group, .538 for the Spanish-Americans, and .407 in the Southeast sample.

## B. Discrimination

Two of the three groups we have looked at in this study are minority groups. For such groups, a critical element in the environment is discrimination. It is discrimination, the extent and nature of it, which to a large extent determines the way in which they fit into the social and economic structure of the area in which they live. It imposes the limits to their aspirations in economic terms, by impeding the hiring or promotion process. It limits their local geographic mobility by defining the areas in which they must live. It limits the opportunities available to them through the educational system. Less tangibly, but perhaps even more importantly, it defines the limits to feelings of "belonging" in the area, participating in the system, and to feelings of personal pride and independence.

Several questions were asked of the migrants and non-migrants in order to identify the extent and principal characteristics of the discrimination perceived by the black and Spanish-American groups. In the series of urban/rural comparison questions, one asked, "Do you think there is less discrimination against blacks/Spanish-Americans in the city?" In the urban questionnaire, migrants were asked, "Do you think things would have been easier for you in the rural area if you weren't black/Spanish-American?" Those who responded affirmatively were asked to state the ways in which they thought things would have been easier. In the rural questionnaire, the same basic question was asked, but omitting the lead-in and just asking how discrimination hurt the minority group most in the rural area. In addition, on the basis of urban responses a number of specific probes were added in the rural questionnaire to test discrimination in jobs, housing, education, and medical care.

The most striking, though by no means unexpected, characteristic of the response pattern was the much greater perception of discrimination by blacks than by Spanish-Americans. In the urban areas, 64% of the black sample responding stated that they thought things would have been easier for them in the rural area if they had not been black. This contrasts with a 26% affirmative response rate on the parallel question asked of the Spanish-Americans. In the rural area, where the question asked was how does discrimination hurt most, 40% of the Spanish-American respondents denied that descrimination posed any problem at all, stating rather than discrimination did not exist or was imaginary. Less than 5% of the black respondents made similar responses.

There are some differences in the pattern of discrimination between the two streams, but in that area the similarities are more notable than the differences. Table 12.3 presents the breakdown of the areas of discrimination identified. (This table describes only the relative weight given to the areas identified. Note the considerable difference in overall rate of identifying some form of discrimination: the black response rate is more than double that of the Spanish-American stream.) The two major categories in both streams are job discrimination and "general discrimination," i.e., discrimination perceived as pervasive rather than directed into particular areas. Apart from these two areas, only education is singled out particularly in either stream.

Table 12.3

Discrimination

| Discrimination cited in: | Southeast % | Southwest % |
|---|---|---|
| jobs | 41 | 57 |
| housing | 4 | 1 |
| education | 15 | 10 |
| public services | 1 | 1 |
| social | 3 | 5 |
| general | 36 | 26 |
| n= | 453 | 202 |

Comparing these spontaneous responses to the responses to discrimination probes focusing on specific areas, there are some differences. When asked specifically about housing discrimination, 90% of the black group and 44% of the Spanish-Americans indicated that this constituted a problem. This was the highest response category for the blacks, and second highest for the Spanish-Americans, even though neither group had spontaneously mentioned this problem. For the blacks, this response rate was followed by those citing job, educational and medical discrimination. The Spanish-Americans responded most strongly to jobs, then housing, with medical and education discrimination receiving much lower mentions. Again, the overall rate of problem response by the black group was from twice to more than three times higher than that of the Spanish-Americans.

The black group is considerably more inclined than the Spanish-American to think that the problems of discrimination are less in the city. Some 46% of the former group indicated that they felt this way, while only 24% of the Spanish-Americans concurred. The groups seem to be differentiated not only in the degree in which the urban environment is believed favorable, but also in terms of who holds the feeling. The blacks who perceive an urban advantage tend most strongly[1] to be of the lower income brackets. They tend more often to be single, younger, and better educated than those who do not feel that the city offers any advantage in terms of discrimination. By contrast, there is no statistically significant relationship between any of the demographic variables and perceptions of less urban discrimination by the Spanish-American sample. Insofar as there are trends, they go in almost precisely the opposite directions from those observed in the black sample: although there is again a tendency for the urban area to be perceived more favorably by lower income people, that view tends to be held most often by married people, older people, and less educated people.[2]

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[1] Sommers D Value of .167.

[2] Not significant at the .05 level.

While the relationships between sex and perceived urban advantage are not significant in either case, slightly more males in the black stream and slightly more females in the Spanish-American feel that the city is less discriminatory.

After our findings concerning the differential strength of feelings about discrimination in the two groups, it is not surprising to learn that perception of an urban advantage in discrimination is strongly associated with migration among the blacks, and not at all among the Spanish-Americans.[1] (For the latter group, in fact, there is a very weak, non-significant correlation between perceiving the urban area as less discriminatory and being in the rural area.) These correlation patterns are consistent across demographic sub-groupings, with minor variations in the strength of correlation.

Out of the series of probes on discrimination in the rural areas, only the job discrimination question was asked of both migrant and non-migrant sample groups. Surprisingly, the correlation pattern for this rural perception variable was opposite that of the urban/rural comparison. Perception of job discrimination in the rural area was more strongly correlated with migration among the Spanish-American sample group than among the blacks.[2] This pattern held up under analyses using demographic controls.

Two primary points can be drawn from this analysis. First, discrimination in the rural area represents two very different conditions for the blacks and the Spanish-Americans. The difference is not, however, mainly one of style or type of discrimination, but rather one of degree. Insofar as a difference in type of discrimination exists, it seems to be reflected in the blacks' perception of the problem as pervasive rather than specific -- thus, the high proportion of "general" discrimination responses, and the relatively small differences in the level of affirmative response to probes about discrimination in different problem areas.

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[1] Sommers D value of .207 for the blacks; no statistically significant (.05) relationship for the Spanish-Americans.

[2] Consistent with this pattern is the fact that migration behavior among the blacks is strongly correlated with the relatively vague comparison of urban and rural levels of migration, while the Spanish-American group's behavior is more strongly associated with the specific issue of rural job discrimination.

The second point is that discrimination is much more strongly associated with rural-to-urban migration among the blacks than among the Spanish-Americans. The pattern of correlation between the perception of urban advantage and migration among the blacks is strikingly similar to that seen in the analysis of the "attractiveness" indicator, suggesting that discrimination is an aspect of the environment much like the "service structure" elements of housing and education. For the Spanish-Americans, discrimination does not seem to form part of this same cluster of attitudes.

Even among the black group, however, it should be noted that discrimination is by no means the most powerful correlate of migration which was found. Perceptions of urban advantage in education, housing and general attractiveness (albeit the latter was strongly related to perceptions of urban advantage in discrimination), were all more strongly related to migration than was this discrimination variable. This is fortunate for the formulator of policy on migration, for if migration were found primarily to respond to perceived discrimination he would be able to exert very little influence upon the process.

## C. Life Cycle

The concept of the rural-to-urban migration as a signal of a major change in the character of an individual's life is relatively commonly expressed, as often in conversation among the affected populations as in the literature. The most common "life cycle" model focuses on the rural-to-urban migration of youths who have just finished--or dropped out of--high school. In such cases migration is often the symbol of breaking of ties with parents and beginning an independent life. Similarly, migration is frequently associated with marriage. Migration may take place at the time of the marriage, or it may be a device in the courtship period by which the individual expands his accessible population of possible mates. Migration at later periods in life may be related to some form of family break-up, i.e., divorce, death of the spouse, the end of responsibilities for children.

It was not a primary purpose of this study to investigate the relationship of migration to life cycle, but some of the data collected in the study permit a few comments on such factors.

Several categories of response to the principal questions on reasons for leaving the rural area were related to life cycle motivations. These categories included, "just finished school and was free to go"; "moved to get married"; "divorced, separated or deserted,"; and "end of some family responsibility" (e.g., children). Each of these categories received a few responses, but the response rate seldom exceeded 5% of the sub-group responses, so they were not analysed separately. Most often, such statements would appear as the second or third reason given by the individual for the move, and relatively infrequently the first reason.

To the extent that the life cycle concept is relevant, one would expect it to be most strongly seen in the reasons given for the particular timing of the individual's move. This expectation is born out, but the total proportion of people whose "precipitating event" is consistent with a life cycle model is still not great. Overall, 11% of the rural-to-urban migrants state that their migration was sparked by a change in marital status (either getting married or being divorced, separated or widowed). Another 7% stated that their migration was coordinated with finishing their education. These proportions were almost identical for the three streams.

Less easily measured are those migrations which amount to courtship searches or expressions of independence from parents. The conscious reasons stated for moving might fall into almost any category, with little or no possibility of identifying the life cycle motivation. A very rough upper limit may be placed on the size of the group by looking at those persons who migrated at less than 21 years of age while they were single. Young, single migrants comprise about 25% of the total migrant sample, with the Appalachians having the highest proportion (29%) and the Spanish-Americans the lowest (21%).

A further idea of the extent to which migration functions as a courtship mechanism, whether or not that factor entered the conscious motivations for moving, can be achieved through consideration of the rate of subsequent marriage of migrating single persons. Approximately 40% of the migrant group was single at the time of migration, as compared with about 16% of the non-migrant population.[1] The proportion of those single migrants getting married after migration is shown for the three population streams in Table 12.4. The rate is substantially higher for the Appalachian and Southwestern streams than the Southeastern group. It should be noted however, that the proportion of singles in the non-migrant Southeastern group is also relatively higher than in the other two streams so that the end result in all three streams is for the proportion of singles in the migrant groups at time of interview to be very close to the proportion in the rural samples.

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[1] See table 19.4.

Table 12.4

Change in Marital Status

| | Southeast | | Appalachia | | Southwest | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | males | females | males | females | males | females |
| % single at time of migration | 48.8 | 38.9 | 50.4 | 39.5 | 39.6 | 30.2 |
| % of all migrants who married after migrating | 18.2 | 16.8 | 33.0 | 32.3 | 31.5 | 22.2 |
| % marriage rate for single migrants | 37.3 | 42.9 | 66.1 | 81.3 | 76.9 | 72.9 |

These figures suggest that migration is related to life cycle factors in a substantial proportion of the cases. Slightly under 20% of the migrants stated that their move was precipitated by events such as the end of education and the formation or dissolution of a family unit, events which typically constitute important dividing lines in individuals' lives. As much as a quarter of the sample could have migrated as a means of establishing independence for the (parental) family unit. Similarly, for as many as about 25% migration appeared to function as a courtship mechanism.

These data are not sufficient to draw major conclusions about the extent and nature of migration related to life cycle factors. None of the figures in the preceding paragraph can be completely causally linked with life cycle migration. The most direct link is between those who say their move was precipitated by end of school or change in the family unit, but even in these cases migration might have been coincidental to the life cycle change rather than fundamentally derived from it. The subsequent marriage data does not allow us to say whether the search for a mate was part of the individual's motivation for migrating or whether he simply happened not to be married before migrating and happened to get married afterward. Our conclusion in this area, therefore, must be limited to the statement that a substantial proportion of migration does seem to be related to major life cycle changes, and that the most common change involved is that of the beginning of (independent) adult status.

# PART III:

# PROCESS OF MIGRATION

## Notes on Part III

In this Part, we present findings regarding a series of questions not directly related to the causes of migration, but necessary to an understanding of the migration process. Chapter 13 is primarily concerned with the circumstances of the individual's decision and his move. Chapter 14 presents a brief review of the geographic patterns through which individuals seem to move. Chapter 15 looks at the history of past migration and the stated considerations of future migration among the sample.

As in Part II, sentences presenting key frequencies or correlations are underlined. The same conventions for the discussion of demographic controls and statistical significance also apply.

# CHAPTER 13: STRUCTURE OF THE MIGRATION DECISION

If the intent of public policy is to give some direction to migration, the critical factors in the decision process and the move itself must first be identified. Secondly, there must be an assessment of whether these elements can be predicted and amended through public influence or whether they are either too random or too personal to be directed in this way. Much has been said, for instance, about a pattern of migration in which the prime determinant of destination is location of friends and relatives. Whole communities have been traced from rural area to urban practically intact. If such basically historical factors are indeed critical for a majority of people, they pose serious constraints on the ability of public policy to affect the direction of migration.

If a policy of influencing migration through persuasion -- i.e., delivery of information--is considered, the length of time and the number of component decisions involved in deciding to migrate can affect the feasibility of policy. If people spend a long time thinking about whether or not to move from the rural area to the city, then it is more likely that information made available will be received and considered than if the decision is spontaneous. In no situation will an information delivery process work, however, if the information is not competitive with whatever alternative information the potential migrant is receiving. This may not only mean that the information must present the comparative desirability of the alternative preferred by policy, but it may mean that the information must be delivered in a particular way, from a particular type of source, or with subsidiary information which might not be deemed "objectively" relevant.

Despite the importance of these and a variety of other questions about the structure of the migration process, relatively few migration studies have been able to shed light in this area. There have been significant contributions on the importance of the family in the migration process, particularly in the role of the family in the actual physical move and the subsequent adjustment. But statements about most other aspects of the structure of the migration process are still largely conjectural.

In this chapter, we will focus on two key sets of questions:

1. Is there a pattern to the process of physical movement overall? Do different groups of people require different kinds of material and social support before undertaking a migration? What kinds of circumstances and thoughts act to inhibit the leave-taking? What kinds of specific events tend to precipitate the move? This kind of information is more important to the policy-maker in terms of who he will have to deal with (migrants moving in large family groups? frightened people? people who have just lost their jobs?) and when he might expect them to be ready to move (at graduation, when the mine closes down, when military time is up).

2. Is the choice of destination a "rational" process? Does the migrant consider the objective characteristics of alternate destinations; does he consult a diversity of information; does his final choice relate logically to his needs (emotional as well as economic)? If this degree of "rationality" is apparent in the decision process, then it is more likely that public information would both reach the potential mover and actually influence his choice.

## A. The Process of Moving

Long-distance migration for any family tends to be a complex process, one which is surrounded by conditions which impose particularly high psychological costs on the migrant. Even the relatively mechanical aspects of the move impose a significant strain. Movable belongings must be prepared for transport, and transported, non-movable assets must be disposed of. A place to stay in the new area of residence must be located, acquired and prepared for the moving in process. If there is no pre-arranged means of financial support in the new location, a job must be found.

The complexity and psychological costs of the process are multiplied by the conditions of poverty. Some things are simpler. There is not much to prepare for moving, there may well be no property to sell or transfer. But on the other hand there is no money to pay for moving assistance, and the private automobile will be hard pressed to transport both belongings and people in a single trip. If the family is to move together, they must strip themselves of all but the barest portable minimum of belongings. Otherwise, one or more members of the family must go ahead, and plan to be joined later. Often, because there is no money to cushion the period of locating a dwelling or finding a job, the family must be divided until such time as the lead member has accumulated the finances to complete the move.

In this section we will examine some of the conditions of the moving process, with particular attention to the number of people making the move, the extent to which external "supporting" factors (e.g., family or friends awaiting, job leads) exist, and the reasons for which non-migrants do not move.

The great majority (75%) of migrants moved with either family or friends. Appalachians tended more often to move alone compared with the other streams, blacks more often with their friends, and Spanish most commonly with the family (see Table 13.1).

Table 13.1

Accompaniment in Moving

| % Moving: | Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alone | 26.2 | 29 | 21 |
| Friends | 8.2 | 4 | 3 |
| Family | 65.0 | 67 | 76 |

As would be expected, the strongest demographic correlate of the accompanied move variable was marital status. Married people tended to move alone much less frequently than single people. Men moved alone more often than women. There were also statistically significant, although less strong, tendencies for those who moved alone to be better educated, to have higher incomes, and to be of the lowest age groups. When these same correlations are done for only that group who moved alone and did not intend to be joined later, all of the same relationships remain, but at reduced strength.

Of the majority who travel with the family group, the largest proportion (40%) travel with their spouse alone. This is especially true for the age group from 21-40 years old. Overall, it is more common to travel in a small group (with spouse, with children, with parents, with siblings) than with the whole family. Stream differences are apparent, with Appalachians more likely to move with the whole family (34%) and blacks least likely (14%).

Those who travel in small family groups tend to have the same general demographic characteristics as those who move alone. They tend to be non-married (either single, or separated, divorced or widowed), males, of higher education, and in the younger age categories. Somewhat surprisingly, there was no statistical relationship between reported income and the tendency to travel in a sub-family group.

While some 75% of the migrants moved with friends or relatives, an even greater percentage of migrants (89%) either planned to meet someone at the destination or at least knew someone living in the city prior to moving there. This was especially true of the Spanish-American group (88% compared to 82% in the other streams).

In contrast to the pattern of moving accompanied or unaccompanied, demographic factors were unrelated to whether or not the migrant knew someone in the destination city. This rate was equally high across all sub-groupings.

Although the overwhelming majority of migrants actually did move with a familiar face awaiting them in the city, over half of the total sample said they would have moved without such social support. The Southeast stream provides the main exception to this statement -- 51% say they would not have moved without that support.

There was a strong tendency[1] for persons of the lowest income groups to say that they would not or could not have moved without knowing someone in the city, although the frequency with which they actually made such moves was no different from that of other groups. Similarly, those who were unmarried, those who had lower levels of educational attainment, and those in the older age groups tended to state more often a requirement for the support provided by a friend in the city.

Some 20% of the migrants stated that at the time of their move they planned to be joined later by others at home. This proportion is significantly higher for the Spanish-American group (25%) and lowest for the Appalachians. This confirms the earlier finding that the Appalachian migrants tend to move in larger groups, supporting an image of Appalachian migration which includes the whole family in a single move.

Statements of migrants about the number of children they had at the time they were living in the rural area were compared with the reports of who accompanied them on the move. The results showed that some 50% of those who had children in the rural area left them at home. This rate was highest for the blacks (69%) and considerably lower for the Appalachian (44%) and Spanish-American (48%) groups.

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[1] Chisquare significance, .001, Sommers D. value, -.124.

One hypothesis tested was that people who did not have the security of some form of social support at the destination point would in effect take that support with them by moving in larger groups. This turned out not to be the case. Indeed the tendency, though it was not statistically significant, was for those who moved alone less often to know someone at the destination point, and this tendency existed among all three streams.

It was also hypothesized that the lack of social support might be compensated by having a job offer, or at least a "lead" on a job. Nearly 60% of all migrants did in fact report some form of job lead before leaving, although the firmness of that lead is not certain. This rate was approximated in all three streams, with the Spanish-Americans having slightly the highest rate (64%). The people who had job leads tended to be married, and in the upper income levels. There were less strong (not statistically significant) tendencies for them to be better educated and younger than the people who did not have job leads.

The people who had job leads tended to be those who moved as a family group rather than singly. In this respect, job leads were not significant in providing support to the "loners". The correlations between job lead and knowing someone in the city, however, were differentiated within the different streams. Among the blacks, there was a significant tendency for those with job leads not to know anyone. In the other two groups, however, the relationship, though less strong, was in the opposite direction. In partial explanation of this difference, it should be remembered that it was the Southeastern group which most frequently used the public, non-personal techniques of job search. While the Appalachian and Spanish-American groups did not as often follow job leads into cities where they knew no one, there was a significant correlation in both of those groups between having such a lead and stating that they would have moved even without knowing anyone.

A final facet of the investigation of the conditions of the moving process involved questions of those who had not migrated, but who said they thought they might someday move to the city. That group was asked why they had not migrated as yet. The answers can be collapsed into the following general categories:

- 48.7% are bound by some form of economic tie (a current or expected job, or inability to afford the move);
- 15.5% felt unable to move because of family responsibilities;
- 15.9% indicated some kind of apprehensiveness or inertia ("waiting for the right moment, "don't like the city");
- 6.1% required the security of a known job or housing in the city;
- 18.7% cited personal circumstances (age, health, school, etc.)

Comparing the three streams, we note that the blacks seem more bound by family responsibilities and personal circumstances (youth and age). Appalachians tend to be the most critical of the city and unsure of their directions, and the Spanish-Americans are most bound by economic reasons (especially a current job and home ownership).

## B. Choice of Destination

Is the choice of destination a "rational" decision? Did the migrant, in other words, gather a certain amount of information about cities which allowed him to make a choice most beneficial to his problem situation? Since rationality cannot be probed directly, we asked a number of questions dealing with source of information on the city, length of decision time, number of destinations considered, the relation of the stated reasons for destination choice to stated reason for leaving, and willingness to move far from homes.

### Information Sources

In the urban area, migrants were asked to describe the perceptions they had had of the city prior to move, and they were then asked where they had received this information. A very high percentage of migrants (88.9%) stated that they had received information about their destination either from their own experience (on visits, through military travel) or from friends or relatives. Very few respondants had relied solely on information that was gathered from public sources such as TV or newspapers, public agencies, or job recruiters. The prevelance of this personal information network is not surprising if we remember that 72% of the migrants had visited a city themselves prior to migration and more than 80% reported that they knew or were planning to meet someone in the city when they moved.

This pattern of information dissemination is supported by another question probing the source of specific job information which migrants had prior to move. Of those respondents who did report having a lead on a job, 72% said they had found out about it through personal contacts, about 7% mentioned their place of work as the source; and less than 5% mentioned any one of the other public channels of information (public or private employment agencies, TV, radio or newspapers, recruiters).

A comparison was made in the migrant sample between the source of information cited as the primary means of knowledge about cities and the source of information cited in connection with any alternate destinations the individual may have considered. The hypothesis was that an information source which was associated only with the consideration of a rejected alternative could be viewed as the less "powerful" or credible medium. Virtually no difference was found between main information source and the alternative city source, however. While this does not permit us to reject the hypothesis that some information sources are more credible than others, it does indicate that distinction between the known alternatives (where more than one destination is considered) is based mainly on information content rather than information source.

This reliance on personal contacts for information about cities is especially strong for the Appalachian and Spanish streams; conversely a higher percentage of the blacks reported reliance on public information (17% compared to the 8% of the other streams). In terms of specific job information, Appalachians stand out even above the Spanish for their reliance on personal information (82.1% vs. 68.7 and 64.1); Spanish-Americans make more use than the others of information at their place of work, and blacks again depend more frequently on public kinds of information. As a prime example, 11.5% of blacks heard about their job through the state Employment Security, whereas virtually none of the Appalachians (0.7%) and few of the Spanish-Americans (4.0%) had.

In the rural area, as in the urban, respondents answered a number of questions about what the city was like and were then asked where they had heard most of what they knew about the city. Non-migrants reported the same degree of reliance on friends and personal experience as actual migrants, again with the Appalachians ranking highest. This corresponds to the fact that the rural dwellers had a high rate of past visits and other experience in cities. Some 30% had once been city-dwellers, and as many as 87% had relatives living in cities currently.

In terms of specific urban-rural differences, receiving information about cities through one's place of work, school, and public agencies corresponds more highly with migration than with non-migration. There are strong stream differences in respect to these variables, however. Information at job characterizes the migrants only in the black and Spanish-American streams, particularly at the lower income levels. Information through school and public agencies is significantly related to migration only in the Southeast stream, especially for older respondents and the lower income groups. In contrast, the non-migrant in all streams is more likely to be receiving information through mass media, especially at the lower educational levels.[1] Within the rural sample itself public information is related to an actual unwillingness to consider migration.

Overall, educational level proves to have the highest correlation to source of information among the demographic variables. All educational groups used personal information to the same degree, but those with high school diplomas and above tended to consider a variety of information (both personal and public) more frequently, and less frequently to consider only public sources of information.[1]

One interesting note is that source of information prior to move corresponds significantly to income change once the move is made. Those migrants who gained nothing in income or took a loss had relied to a greater extent solely upon personal information; whereas the slight gain group had made most use of multiple information sources; and the highest gains were made by people who were greater users of public information. (Recency and age, which do have an effect on change of income, are not correlated with the use of information.) This finding is consistent with a greater tendency[2] for those people who used public information to have had a lead on a job before they moved. We cannot say, however, whether people tended to use public information only when they were looking for a job, or whether the use of public channels affected the ease by which they found employment.

We might expect people with different reasons for moving to seek out different sources of information. When the correlation is made, we find that personal sources of information are significantly related to family reasons for move. Stated reasons for migration which concern public services and amenities more often correspond to a diversity of information. There is also some tendency, (not statistically significant) for people who move for social and life style advantages to use public information to a greater extent. A statement of economic reasons for move is also related to slightly greater use of public information.

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[1] All of the stated relationships have chisquare significance at least at .05.

[2] Not significant at the .05 level.

Of the remaining demographic variables (sex, age, marital status), only the latter has any influence -- married people tend to use public information more often, and single people the personal information network.[1] This is supported by the fact that public information more often reaches family groups than migrants who move alone.

In summary, then, it seems that information channeled through TV, newspapers, schools, and public agencies of various kinds will have more success in reaching the higher educational groups rather than the lower, the family groups rather than the single migrants, and those migrants more concerned with the general atmosphere, life style and public services of the city. In general, however, given the great reliance put on a personal information network, our findings indicate that the provision of new kinds of information through the traditional agency and media channels might have some success in reaching blacks, but little success overall.

## Decision Time

The length of time people spend thinking about their decision before moving is important for two reasons: 1) it suggests the amount of rational consideration and number of steps which go into the final decision, and 2) it tells us whether public policy would have time to intervene with new information or incentives before the migration occurs.

The migrant sample was asked whether they had thought about leaving for a few weeks, a few months, years, or for only a moment before they left. A similar question was asked of the rural sample, but it is not clear that responses in the two situations have the same meaning. It is possible, for instance, that the fact that the slightly longer time reported by the non-migrants was partially a reporting of casual, off-and-on consideration of migration, whereas the actual migrants were more likely to be thinking about their last, directed urge to move.

Overall, people tend to think through their migration decision for a relatively long time. 61% of the migrants and 67% of non-migrants said that they had considered the decision for either a few months or years. About 20% of the migrants report that they left on the spur of the moment. This percentage may represent the proportion which is beyond the influence of public policy, except as that policy works on the pre-conditions of migration.

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[1] Not significant at the .05 level.

To a limited extent, the length of time an individual spends considering his move appears to be related to the reasons he states for moving. People who said they moved because of the better social environment, the greater opportunities or the housing or educational advantages of the city tended significantly more often to say that they had been thinking for moving for years. People who gave a reason related to their family -- to join family members, to get married, to fulfill some form of family responsibility -- reported spending less time thinking about moving. The decision time was surprisingly little related to the specific event which individuals cited as causing their move at a particular time. The trends, which were generally not statistically significant, were for "spur of the moment" moves to be precipitated by job problems and death or illness in the family. The longest decision time was associated with people who said that the timing of their move was dictated by finishing school.

Educational level was found to have a significant relationship with decision time, with the more educated taking longer. When controlled for education, the rural-urban differences decrease in significance for all but the blacks, where shorter decision time is still related to migration, especially at the lower educational levels. Among the migrants there was a greater tendency for people who used only public information to take longer,[1] and people who used personal information or both personal and public information to leave more quickly.

### Alternate Destinations

Consideration of alternate destinations is an indicator of greater rationality in the process of destination choice. If the choice is predetermined --

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[1] The exception was in the category of people who received information from someone offering them a job, who left quickly.

by location of friends, by job offer, by lack of information on any other place -- then there is less chance that the migrant will have made the most beneficial possible move, or that his migration will be compatible with the desires of policy.

The majority of migrants and potential migrants do not consider more than one destination. Within the migrant group, a bare 25% considered more than one city when they made the decision to leave. This weighing of alternatives was most common among the black migrants. In general, urban and rural samples do not differ in their tendency to weigh alternatives except for the Spanish-American stream, where the tendency is for migrants more often to consider a single destination[1] (despite the fact that urban respondents were asked specifically for a second destination possibility and the rural sample was not.) In the older (over 26) age groups of the black sample, there was a tendency for those who migrated to have considered more alternatives than the rural residents.

Several demographic variables are closely related with the consideration of alternate destinations. Better educated people more frequently consider alternatives than people in the lower education categories. Males report thinking about alternative destinations more often than females. Younger people, especially the group under 26 years old, tend to consider more places than older people.

Among both migrants and non-migrants, people who consider alternative destinations tend to take a longer time before leaving. Among the migrants there was also a slight tendency for people who used a diversity of information sources to consider more destinations -- although there was a greater tendency for people who used only public information to consider just one destination.

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1. Sommers D. value .100.

## Reason for Destination Selection

Specific questions probing the reasons for selecting a particular destination were desired for two reasons. First, since policy attempting to deal with migration is quite likely to desire to re-direct the existing migration patterns, to divert the flow to other cities, a necessary input to that policy will be a knowledge of the reasons for which potential migrants select one city rather than another. Second, it was desired to test the hypothesis that the migration decision is a multiple rather than a single-stage process. It was expected that if the reasons for selection of a particular city were significantly different from the reasons given in response to the general "why did you move" question, that this evidence would tend to substantiate the multiple-stage model.

Migrants to the urban area were asked about the selection of their specific destination city if they mentioned that they had considered more than one possible destination. All residents of the rural area who said that they had thought about migrating to the city were asked which city, and why that particular city. Thus in both instances, the thrust of the question was for comparison of the selected city with some named or unnamed alternative.

Within the migrant sample, reasons for choosing one destination over another fall into the following order:

| | |
|---|---|
| 32.6% | Presence of friends or relatives |
| 16.9% | Job offer |
| 16.5% | Closer to home or work |
| 13.9% | Generally more appealing |
| 10.9% | Better jobs there |
| 3.4% | Better jobs and closer to home |
| 2.6% | More information, visited city previously |
| 1.9% | Housing |
| 1.5% | Cheaper |

It is significant that the first two reasons, comprising about half of the total, are reasons which reflect a highly personal relationship between the respondent and the selected city. There is no feasible information-based policy, regardless of the delivery method used, which could provide the individual with friends or relatives in the city to which migration is desired. Similarly, while the broadcasting of information about job opportunities is well within the realm of possibility, the presentation of specific job offers to individuals would be considerably more difficult. It is also interesting to note that despite the classic "gravity model,"[1] which relates migration to a function of distance between the rural area and the city and size of the city, the personal relationship with the city was considerably more important from the individual's point of view.

In the rural area as well, potential migrants stated that they would most often choose their destination because of the presence of friends and relatives (37.7%). Economic factors ranked second in importance (27.0%), general appeal and more information third (15.7%). Of the other reasons mentioned, entertainment, living conditions, and closeness to home were most important (about 4% each). There was no significant urban-rural difference except in the Appalachian stream, in which case the non-migrant more often gave priority to family/friends and closeness to home.

In both the migrant and non-migrant samples, the blacks had a greater tendency to choose a destination on the basis of friends or relatives (42%) being there and also on "general appeal" factors. The Appalachian whites most often select cities where they perceive economic opportunities (45%). The Spanish-Americans are midpoint between the two other streams on everything except closeness to home, which is pronounced for the migrant sample especially (28%).

Overall, economic reasons for the selection of a specific destination are more often associated with married people, the 26-40 age group, the lowest education group and the highest income group. Family/ friend reasons are more characteristic of females, separated-divorced-

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1. Walter Isard, Methods of Regional Analysis, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960,) pp. 51-79, 493-568. J. Wolpert, "Distance and Directional Bias in Interurban Migratory Streams," Annals of the Association of American Geography (Sept. 67). S. A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities and Competing Migrants," Journal of Regional Science (1960).

widowed persons, the youngest and oldest age groups, the high school graduates and those with incomes under $3,000. Those people most concerned about the distance from home and prior familiarity with the city are married, of the middle education and income groups, older, and male. Married people are also characteristically more interested in the living conditions in the destination area.

In order to further probe the attitudes of rural residents concerning migration alternatives, a series of questions asked the respondents to state comparative preferences for specified alternatives. One such question asked whether they would prefer to move to a job in a city within the state, or to move to a "better paying job" outside the state.[1] Over half of the rural respondents indicated that they would prefer to stay close to home, and take the lower-paying job. The Appalachian stream was strongest in its preference for in-state migration (71.3%).

Those people who expressed willingness to move greater distances tended to be single or separated, younger (this was not significant for blacks), and males in the case of the black stream. Income, education levels, and previous city experience had little influence.

Interesting patterns are obtained by cross-tabulating the preference for in-state vs. out-of-state migration by the reasons which the rural respondents said might induce them to migrate. 71% of those blacks who cited economic reasons prefer moving out of state for the higher-paying jobs. This is in contrast to the general inclination of the rural population, including blacks, to stay near home. Spanish-Americans and Appalachians who might move for economic reasons did not find distant, higher paying jobs any more attractive than those who are motiviated by other reasons.

The Southeastern blacks appear to be the only stream which prefers to make a long distance move because of problems in the rural area. There is a significant tendency for those who feel that there is more discrimination in the rural area to move far from home, although the majority of people who perceive this problem in the rural still prefer to stay in-state. For blacks, long distance migration is most highly associated with migration reasons related to amenities and social life. This is in contrast to the Southwest stream for instance, where social motivations appear to be fairly closely related to in-state preferences.

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[1] See also the discussion in Chapter VI.

In addition to examining the reasons given for particular destination choices and the potential migrant's preferences in certain situations, it was desired to compare the reason for destination selection with the main reason given for migration (or, in the rural sample, for potential migration). The two reasons were in general positively correlated. Examination of the cross-tabulation, however, showed that in fact a majority of people do not give the same answer to the two questions. Thus, of those people who gave economic factors as the main reason for migrating, the greatest number (40%) also cited economic reasons for their destination, but 60% named other reasons. Most notably, 24% selected the specific city because friends or relatives lived there, and 22% because it was closest. In other cases:

- of those people whose main reason for leaving was family-related, 40% selected their destination on the basis of economic factors;
- of those leaving for social environment or general opportunities reasons, most chose the particular city on the basis of family or friends living there;
- of those who cited reasons relating to public services, most chose their city because of family/friend presence or closeness to home or work.

When the streams are considered separately, the blacks show the greatest correspondence between the two decisions, and Appalachians the least, with the Spanish-Americans in the middle. In all groups, however, the differences are substantial.

To test the multi-stage decision model further, a series of correlations were done among main reason for migrating, reason for destination choice, and the event cited as precipitating the move. The somewhat surprising result was that the main reason and the precipitating event were much more closely related to each other than either was to the reason for destination selection. There appeared to be little distinction in the migrant's mind between the main reason he had for leaving his origin area and the reason he left at that particular time. He does distinguish, however, between these two versions of the reason he left and the reason he had for going to a particular city.

This analysis seems to lend to support to a two-stage model of the migration decision process. In one decision, the migrant decides to leave the rural area and go to the city. His conscious or reported motivation for that decision tends to be primarily economic in nature, but it may be related to a sudden crisis of some kind or a more long-standing situation. In a separate process, the migrant selects the city to which he will go. He tends to make this selection on the basis of his personal contact with the city, especially the presence of friends of family there.

Note that the two decisions do not have to occur in the order in which they are described here. It seems eminently possible, and in some respects more reasonable, that the migrant has already selected his destination city before he actually decides to migrate. He may have consciously thought about migration at some time before his final decision, and in that thinking decided that if he ever were to migrate, he would go to City X. More likely, his awareness of an existing personal contacts has caused him unconsciously to assume that if he ever did migrate, it would be to City X. Such a time sequence would be consistent with the congruence of the main reason and precipitating event variables. It is also noteworthy that all reasons for destination city selection, with the exception of the specific job offer, refer to conditions which would logically have been known to the migrant for considerable time.

The model as described does not correspond directly with either the "push" or the "pull" model of migration. In some respects, rather, it resembles a combination of the two concepts. The destination selection decision would represent the pull side of the picture. Although the factors included in that pull are substantially different from those proposed in the traditional models. The main reason and precipitating event between them constitute the push side, although in this decision the distinction between push and pull factors becomes much less clear.

## C. Summary

Analysis of the migration decision process emphasizes the importance of the network of personal contacts and information sources possessed by the potential migrant. Three quarters of the migrants moved in some kind of group, usually a nuclear family group. Over 80% reported knowing someone in the destination city before moving, and more than 60% had specific plans to meet someone in the city on arrival. Almost 60% also reported that they had some sort of job lead before moving, with the majority getting such job leads through personal contacts.

Nearly 90% of the migrants stated that their main source of information about cities, before moving from the rural area, had been either personal experience or the experience of friends or relatives. Rural residents, asked where they got their information about cities, named similar sources. Some 87% of the rural residents stated that they had relatives currently living in cities. Those migrants who did not rely solely on personal information sources, however, had a greater tendency to consider more than one city as possible destinations and to experience greater income gains after migration.

Few migrants consider more than a single destination. Those who do most frequently select their destination on the basis of the presence of friends or relatives in the city or the receipt of a specific job offer. Rural residents who report having considered migration cite similar grounds for deciding.

Analysis of the migrants' stated reason for moving, the event they cite as precipitating the move, and the reason named for destination selection shows a considerably greater correspondence between the first two than any other pair. This suggests a two-stage decision process, one in which a destination is selected, and one in which a move decision is actually made. Given the heavy emphasis on personal information sources in cities, combined with low rate of conscious consideration of more than one possible destination, it seems likely that the destination selection "decision" is simply a long-standing, perhaps unconscious assumption that if the individual were to move it would be to a particular place. The more conscious decision appears to be the decision to leave, and it seems to be based strongly on specific and relatively short-term events and situations.

# CHAPTER 14: MIGRATION PATHS

Researchers on migration have often speculated on the existence of intermediate cities, that is, cities to which rural migrants go for brief periods of time before moving on to larger cities which become final destinations. The concept has never been well articulated. Nor has the existence of such cities ever been proven or disproven with empirical data. The Social Security data, as analyzed by Hathaway and Perkins,[1] indicates that most migrants begin their migration treks with short moves and move on (or return to the rural area) only if they fail to make a successful economic adjustment. Other studies such as that of TRACOR[2] have concluded that intermediate cities are not a frequent or important phenomenon in migration.

Within this study, an effort was made to ascertain the frequency of intermediate stops and to investigate a few aspects of the nature of migration treks in general. All interviewees were questioned on their entire migration history - the places they had lived, the reasons for their moves, their ages at each move, and the length of time they stayed at each destination. In addition, two of the six cities selected for migrant sampling fall into the class of possible intermediate cities. It is possible to analyze these cities as destinations which are different in kind from the more traditional big city destinations outside the region of origin.

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[1] Dale Hathaway and Brian B. Perkins, "Occupational Mobility and Migration from Agriculture," in the President's Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, Washington, 1968.

[2] Daniel Price, A Study of Economic Consequences of Rural to Urban Migration, (Austin, Texas: TRACOR, 1969).

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## "Intermediate" vs. "Big" Cities

The two cities which might fall into the intermediate city category were Greensboro and Albuquerque. Both cities are smaller than the other destinations - cities of about 100,000 in size versus cities of 500,000-a million in population. Both cities are relatively close geographically and culturally to the origin areas.

In selecting these cities, the rationale was not primarily that the cities would serve as intermediate stops, but rather that the cities would serve as alternative destinations for migrants who might otherwise move to larger cities, especially to big city ghettos. It emerged from the data that the alternative destinations also were acting as intermediate cities, in that a significant number (over 5%) of the migrants to the larger destination city had come through the alternate destination on the way. In Greensboro, some 25% of the migrants were contemplating moving North, and some mentioned Baltimore as a possible destination. In short, both major and alternate destination cities (Baltimore and Greensboro, Albuquerque and Denver) seem to be interrelated in the same migration stream.

It should be noted that an attempt to generalize about the importance of intermediate stops for Southern blacks on the basis of the Greensboro example will likely result in an under-estimate of the intermediate stop phenomenon. Greensboro is at the center of a rapidly industrializing area. In the five-year time span covered by our survey, rural migrants to Greensboro probably have confronted a much more hospitable labor market than they would have faced at other times, or at the same time in other cities. One would therefore expect a much lower rate of "failure," in the sense of poor economic adjustment, and thus a lower propensity to migrate on to other cities.

On the other hand, the rate of migration to -- as opposed to through -- cities such as Greensboro would be expected to be higher than the rate of migration to regional cities elsewhere in the South. The rapidly growing industrial sector in the Carolinas, coupled with growth in services and education, contrasts greatly with the bleak economies in states like Mississippi. It is not surprising that studies which probed migration patterns in the Black Belt states bordering the Mississippi River, found migration to regional centers to be relatively infrequent.

It was hypothesized that different causes or motivations might lie behind the migration to the major cities and migration to the closer, smaller alternate cities. The hypothesis was tested by duplicating the principal correlation analyses used with the total sample. Where the total sample analyses compared all migrants against all non-migrants, this series of operations compared the non-migrants with the major city migrants and then with the alternate city migrants. A summary of these correlations is presented in Table 14.1.

The migrants to the major cities tended to be much younger than those who chose the regional alternative, and they were more often males. Economic factors were considerably more important for the big city migrants. They were more likely to have been unemployed in the rural area, they had more positive views of the urban as compared to the rural labor market, and they were more critical of the rural labor market. These patterns are even stronger when the same analysis is made for the "decisionmaker" sub-group. Those who migrated to the regional centers were more likely to own fixed assets in the rural area.

In the infrastructure areas also, the migrants to the larger and more distant city tended to have experienced or perceived greater difficulties in the rural area. They were more likely to have perceived problems in the accessibility of jobs and services, and less likely to have commuted to work outside their rural com-

### Table 14.1

### Comparison of Migrants to Regional Centers and Migrants to Non-regional Big City as to Causes of Migration

D statistic: A positive D statistic implies that a favorable response to the variable in the left-hand column inclines the individual to migrate.

| | Intermediate City Migrant | | Non-regional Big City Migrant | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All | Decision-maker only | All | Decision-maker only |
| Sex (Male) | -.068 | | -.055 | |
| Age (Young) | .279 | | .343 | |
| Family Income, Last Rural (low) | .055 | .094 | .037 | .141 |
| Farm Background | .142 | .090 | .181 | .212 |
| Received Vocational Training in Rural | -.117 | | -.120 | |
| Received Any Govt. Program Help in Rural | -.057 | | -.048 | |
| Index, Perceived Accessibility Problem | .037 | .034 | .098 | .080 |
| Past Commuting | -.146 | -.092 | -.187 | -.094 |
| Index, Commuting Capability (none) | .176 | .130 | .231 | .127 |
| USES Unemployment | .214 | .158 | .233 | .247 |
| Underemployment (Hrs/Wk)* | NS(-.044) | -.058 | NS(-.019) | -.096 |
| Underemployment (Seasonality) | NS(.034) | NS(.003) | .137 | .093 |
| Not Enough Jobs in Rural* | -.085 | NS(-.045) | NS(.059) | NS(-.051) |
| No Steady Jobs in Rural* | -.296 | -.249 | -.198 | -.182 |
| Steadier Work in City | .183 | .122 | .323 | .245 |
| Better Pay in City* | NS(-.051) | NS(.015) | NS(.096) | NS(.002) |
| Rundown Houses in Rural* | -.453 | | -.360 | |
| Few Doctors in Rural* | -.224 | | -.220 | |
| More to Do in City | .426 | | .497 | |
| Better Schools in City | .372 | | .248 | |
| Better Health in City | .041 | | NS(.033) | |
| Better Housing in City | .331 | | .259 | |
| More Govt. Help in City* | -.040 | | -.061 | |
| Less Discrimination in City | .044 | | .153 | |

*The negative sign of the D statistic is the opposite of theoretical expectation.

munity. As compared with the regional city migrants, they more often saw the city as offering benefits in terms of better housing and less discrimination. They more often perceived the city to offer amenity advantages. Big city migrants were more critical of rural area services in general than were those who chose the regional alternative city.

The pattern which emerges is not one of radically different causes of migration to the two types of destinations. The difference, rather, is one of strength in the correlations. Migrants to the smaller regional cities seem to be propelled by weaker versions of the same forces that motivate the longer-distance movers. Another way of looking at the pattern is to say that the regional city migrants occupy a middle ground between the big city migrants and the non-migrants; almost all of their perceptions and experiences fall in between those of the other two groups.

Fundamentally it appears that the migrants to the regional centers are individuals who have not been as thoroughly dismayed by rural conditions or as enchanted by urban conditions as the migrants who leave the region. Nevertheless, these individuals have been forced out of the rural area by employment dislocation and life cycle changes. Since they are less critical of the rural life style (discrimination, amenities, services), they may perceive less need to leave the region in order to escape that life style. A variety of factors cause them to seek a city. Yet they see no need to leave the region in order to find a city which not only offers better job opportunities, but less discrimination and better service and amenity opportunities. Being older, they also have more ties to the rural area and thus to the region - ties through assets, social relationships, past participation in poverty and governmental programs.

## Frequency of Intermediate Stops

Table 14. 2 presents the frequencies with which migrants made more than one stop on their migration trek to the cities in which they were interviewed. It is clear from the table that intermediate stops are no rare phenomenon. More than 40% of the migrants in each of the three streams had moved from their age 16 residence to some other place before moving to their interview destination. This high percentage is even more striking when one remembers the high percentage of migrants who were under the age of 26, and who thus had a relatively short time period in which to undertake their multiple moves. Moreover, more than one in five migrants had made at least two intermediate moves before arriving at the interview destination.

The surprisingly high frequency of multiple moves for a population that was so young is explained in part by the short time during which migrants stayed at the intermediate stops. One of every three multiple stop migrants stayed less than a year at each stop, and two out of three stayed less than five years. This pattern held true regardless of the number of total stops or of the sequential position within the migration trek of the stop being analyzed.

Surprisingly, the frequency of multiple stops was greater for the alternative than the major destination cities. More migrants went directly to Baltimore and Denver than went directly to the regional centers, Greensboro and Albuquerque. This suggests that these regional centers, in addition to serving as intermediate cities and alternatives to larger non-regional cities, also function in a peculiar way as part of a migration chain in which the larger cities are not as frequently involved. This might be explained in part by the five-year period within which migrants had to have left the rural area. If the pattern were for individuals to make multiple moves -- at least one of them to a city of more than 25, 000 popula-

## Table 14.2

### Frequency of Multiple Movers by Stream and City

| | Southeast | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Baltimore | | Greensboro | | Total | |
| | % | Cumulative % | % | Cumulative % | % | Cumulative % |
| Total N | 151 | | 148 | | 299 | |
| % making 5 moves | 0.7 | | 4.0 | | 2.3 | |
| % making 4 moves | 6.6 | 7.3 | 6.7 | 10.8 | 6.6 | 9.0 |
| % making 3 moves | 8.6 | 15.9 | 14.8 | 25.7 | 11.7 | 20.7 |
| % making 2 moves | 19.2 | 35.1 | 20.2 | 46.0 | 19.7 | 40.5 |
| % making 1 move | 64.9 | 100.0 | 54.0 | 100.0 | 59.5 | 100.0 |
| | **Appalachia** | | | | | |
| | Columbus | | Cincinnati | | Total | |
| Total N | 144 | | 166 | | 310 | |
| % making 5 moves | 2.7 | | 4.8 | | 3.8 | |
| % making 4 moves | 6.2 | 9.0 | 3.6 | 8.4 | 4.8 | 8.6 |
| % making 3 moves | 15.9 | 25.0 | 10.8 | 19.3 | 13.2 | 21.8 |
| % making 2 moves | 23.6 | 48.7 | 22.8 | 42.2 | 23.2 | 45.1 |
| % making 1 move | 51.3 | 100.0 | 57.8 | 100.0 | 54.8 | 100.0 |
| | **Southwest** | | | | | |
| | Denver | | Albuquerque | | Total | |
| Total N | 143 | | 167 | | 310 | |
| % making 5 moves | 4.0 | | 14.5 | | 8.9 | |
| % making 4 moves | 3.4 | 7.4 | 6.6 | 21.2 | 4.9 | 13.8 |
| % making 3 moves | 16.1 | 23.6 | 9.9 | 31.1 | 13.2 | 27.1 |
| % making 2 moves | 17.3 | 41.0 | 16.5 | 47.7 | 16.9 | 44.1 |
| % making 1 move | 58.9 | 100.0 | 52.3 | 100.0 | 55.8 | 100.0 |

tion -- before stopping in a larger regional center such as Greensboro, and then a move to a major city such as Baltimore, it is quite possible that five years would elapse between the "rural-to-urban" migration and arrival in Baltimore. Unfortunately, the data currently available do not permit a thorough test of this possibility, and the reason for the higher rate of multiple migration to the regional center remains unclear.

Among the three streams, the Southeastern migrants tend to participate in multiple-stop migration less frequently than the Appalachians and Spanish-Americans. The migration chain behavior is still readily apparent, however.

### Distances Moved

In making their first rural to urban move, most migrants move more than 100 miles. However, more than a third do move less than 100 miles, that is, possibly within a two hour commuting time of their rural residence. This suggests that the sub-regional migration required by a growth center strategy may indeed be feasible for a significant portion of the migrants. Among the three streams, Spanish-Americans tend to migrate initially close to their origin area. Some 44.2% move less than 100 miles as compared to 34.4% of the blacks and 31.0% of the Appalachians. There are no statistically significant differences in the distance moved by sex, income, or education. There is a very strong tendency, however, for younger people to move longer distances. Only 13.0% of youths under 21 and 17.0% of migrants between 21 and 26 years of age moved less than 50 miles from their origin, as compared to 33.9% of migrants over the age of 40.[1]

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[1] The Sommers D for distance moved as a function of age was -.112.

Among multiple movers, there is an irregular pattern for distances moved. Blacks move about the same distance (some 60-65% moving more than 100 miles) on each move. The Spanish-Americans, who stay close to home on their first move, tend to move longer distances on subsequent moves, approaching the pattern of the blacks (60-65% moving more than 100 miles). After the second move, Appalachians also tend to move somewhat longer distances (shifting from 65-70% to 75-80% moving more than 100 miles). Thus, there is a general tendency in two of the three streams for individuals to move longer distances on their subsequent chain moves than they did on their first moves.

This is consistent with the earlier finding that Spanish and Appalachians tend to be multiple movers more frequently than blacks. One might hypothesize that by moving only short distances, the Spanish and Appalachians were less frequently breaking off from their depressed regional labor markets. Thus, their prospects for successful economic adjustment after the first rural to urban move would be less. It would not be surprising therefore that they would move again and thus become categorized as chain or multiple movers.

## The Participation of Origin Areas in Metropolitan Labor Markets

One of the more important concepts emerging in urban geography and regional development is that of metropolitan and urban areas as core labor markets exploited by outlying rural areas through commuting. Brian Berry has found that the quality of the labor market, as measured by industrial structure, income, services and amenities, or unemployment, increased with urban size.[1] Similarly, Victor Fuchs has shown that even after controlling for the education and demographic characteristics of workers, there is an element of wages which appears to be explained primarily by city size. That is, as a city gets larger, its wages tend to increase, regardless of the quality of the labor force.[2] In short, urban labor markets seem to be better than rural labor markets just because they are urban.

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[1] Brian J. L. Berry, "Spatial Organization and Levels of Welfare: Degree of Metropolitan Labor Market Participation as a Variable in Economic Development," Paper given to EDA Research Conference, (Washington, D.C., October, 1967).

One can thus characterize the origin labor markets not only by county unemployment and nonparticipation rates and county median income, but by the degree of urbanization the county and most importantly by the county's geographical proximity to metropolitan core labor markets. If a county has a poor local labor market and is too far from metropolitan labor markets for commuting, one could hypothesize that a migrant would have to move a relatively long distance to gain access to better labor market conditions. Thus the shorter distances moved by Spanish and Appalachians, and the greater tendency of those groups to be multiple movers, may be ascribable to the inaccessibility of the origin area and its immediate environs to metropolitan labor markets.

When the origin areas of the three migrant streams are examined in terms of their accessibility to metropolitan labor markets, it does indeed emerge that the Appalachians and Spanish migrants were much more isolated from urban labor markets in their rural areas than were the blacks.

First, most of the black migrants came from counties which contained much larger towns than did the rural counties of the Appalachians and Spanish-Americans. More than 54.2% of the blacks came from counties which had a city larger than 12,500, and 5.0% came from counties with cities over 50,000. In contrast, only 15.2% of the Appalachians and 11.9% of the Spanish came from rural areas with towns as large as 12,500. Only about 2% of migrants in either of the latter two streams left areas where they could exploit a local city as large as 50,000.

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[2] Victor R. Fuchs, "Differentials in Hourly Earnings by Region and City Size, 1959," National Bureau of Economic Research, Occasional Paper #101, (New York, 1967).

Second, many more of the blacks came from counties which had commuting proximity to at least one and often more than one SMSA. Some 59.3% of the blacks were within at least 50 miles of an SMSA, and 43.4% had two or more SMSA's within that distance. In contrast, about 50.8% of the Appalachians and only 27.5% of the Spanish had even one SMSA within 50 miles of their origin area, and only 6.2% of the Appalachians and 1.7% of the Spanish had the good fortune of being able to exploit two or more SMSA's within the minimum one-hour commuting drive of 50 miles. Even if a 100 mile radius is considered, some 27.2% of the Spanish-Americans were still isolated from an SMSA.

Thus, the Southeastern blacks came from rural areas which had urban and metropolitan labor markets for exploitation, if not locally then by commuting. The Appalachians, and especially the Spanish, were more isolated. It was unlikely that the Appalachian and Spanish short-distance movers would significantly improve the quality of the labor market in which they were participating. The probability of poor economic adjustment was thus increased, and concomitantly, it was more likely that subsequent moves would be forthcoming.

## The Rationality of Destination Choices

Another way to test hypotheses concerning the relationship between the origin and destination labor markets and the probability of multiple migration is to compare the specific labor market characteristics of the origin and destination. The presumption of most theories of migration, especially those of the economist, is that individuals move from a place which is "bad," by some criterion of concern, to some place which is "good" or at least "better" in terms of that criterion. The economist tends to see migration as a problem in factor mobility, in which underemployed or unemployed labor factors of production are transferred to more productive employment in another line of work (and by necessity in another geographical place). The associated presumption is therefore that individuals move from "bad" labor markets to "better" labor markets. One can measure the relative "badness" and "goodness" of labor markets through proxies like aggregate unemployment, median wages and income, and the extent to which manufacturing rather than agriculture is the dominant sector in the economy.

Table 14.3 depicts the percentage of migrants on each move in their migration history who improved and who suffered a decline in the labor market opportunities which they could exploit, as measured by aggregate data characteristics of that labor market. Separate analyses are made for males and females. Several points are striking.

First, there were a surprisingly large number of "losers" in every move, i.e., individuals who moved to labor markets which a policy maker would say was more distressed or offered fewer opportunities than the origin labor market. About 20% of the migrants in all streams "lost" economic ground on each move, according to the aggregate indicators of labor market conditions.

Second, "losers" were much more common among men than among women except for the first move after age 16. Also, the ratio of clear "gainers" to "losers" was much higher among women than among men.

Third, "gainers" were more frequent and "losers" less frequent for Appalachians and Spanish than for blacks. Similarly, the ratio of gainers to losers tended to be higher for the former streams when compared to the ratio for the blacks.

Two points must be borne in mind in interpreting the analyses of aggregate data indicators in the successive move sequence. First, it was not possible within the scope of this study to carry the analysis to the point of separating out types of moves. One migrant might

## Table 14.3

### Economic "Gainers" and "Losers" in Migration for Each Move, as Measured by Aggregate Data Indicators for the Labor Market

% of males and females who are gainers or losers as measured by area unemployment rate:

| | All Streams Combined | | Black | | White | | Spanish | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male unemployment 1960 (male migrants only) | Female unemployment 1960 (female migrants only) | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| **First Move** | | | | | | | | |
| "Gainers" | 49.0% | 36.2 | 34.9 | 28.5 | 57.3 | 31.2 | 52.6 | 48.1 |
| "Losers" | 21.7 | 22.0 | 35.7 | 27.5 | 13.9 | 16.8 | 17.7 | 20.9 |
| N | (428) | (540) | (123) | (189) | (136) | (160) | (169) | (191) |
| **Second Move** | | | | | | | | |
| "Gainers" | 30.3 | 36.1 | 41.3 | 30.0 | 21.5 | 20.0 | 31.6 | 53.8 |
| "Losers" | 36.4 | 25.1 | 32.7 | 36.6 | 45.4 | 21.2 | 30.6 | 18.2 |
| N | (244) | (274) | (58) | (90) | (88) | (80) | (98) | (104) |
| **Third Move** | | | | | | | | |
| "Gainers" | 40.6 | 36.9 | 45.1 | 36.6 | 40.8 | 29.2 | 37.5 | 43.7 |
| "Losers" | 32.8 | 21.0 | 35.4 | 26.6 | 36.7 | 21.9 | 27.0 | 16.6 |
| N | (128) | (119) | (31) | (30) | (49) | (41) | (48) | (48) |
| **Fourth Move** | | | | | | | | |
| "Gainers" | 28.5 | 48.1 | 35.7 | 75.0 | 28.0 | 17.3 | 35.2 | 68.4 |
| "Losers" | 46.4 | 20.3 | 35.7 | 8.3 | 44.0 | 26.0 | 47.0 | 21.0 |
| N | (56) | (54) | (14) | (12) | (25) | (23) | (17) | (19) |

have a sequence of rural-rural-urban, while another had a sequence of urban-rural-urban. Thus, in looking at the differences between point one and point two for these two migrants combined, the concept of an average "gain" is not fully meaningful. Further and more sophisticated analysis of the data will be required to separate move types into meaningful sequence groupings. Still, it should not be overlooked that the most straightforward hypothesis -- that all migrants would follow a pattern of moving from "worse" to "better" labor market conditions on each move -- is definitely not confirmed by the data.

The second point is that, as we concluded in the earlier analysis of aggregate data correlations with experience and perceptions, this type of indicator is simply not a consistently useful device for understanding what is happening to the individual. A person may be unemployed in an area where the unemployment rate is very low, and then move to a place of high unemployment and find a job. In other words, caution must be exercised in the reading of aggregate data changes even when considerably more sophisticated analytical techniques are employed.

Since the first move after age 16 is not necessarily the first rural to urban move (i.e., the move studied in the intensive interview questions), an analysis was also done of "gainers" and "losers" for that prime move. Table 14.4 presents the data for this analysis. For indicators other than unemployment for males, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of migrants were "gainers" on the prime move and that there were few "losers." The number of males, most of whom would be heads of households, who moved to more economically distressed destinations is still dismaying, however.

It was hypothesized that if a migrant reported an economic reason for his migration decision, he or she should be more likely to choose a destination which offered more economic opportunities as measured by aggregate indicators. As Table 14.5 shows, this hypothesis

## Table 14.4

## Economic "Gainers" and "Losers" in Migration for the Prime Move, as Measured by Aggregate Data Indicators of the Labor Market

| | In total population: | | Gainers Among those in Most Distressed Origin Group[1] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Clear "Gainers" | Clear "Losers" | |
| Aggregate Male Unemployment Rate 1960 (Male Migrants Only) | 57.0 | 21.7 | 84.2 |
| Aggregate Female Non-employment Rate 1960 (Female Migrants Only) | 81.8 | 0.7 | 100.0 |
| Aggregate % Employed in Agriculture 1960 | 75.0 | 0.3 | 98.8 |
| Change (△) in % Employed in Agriculture 1960, i. e., Agricultural Displacement | 91.9 | 0.5 | 98.9 |
| Aggretate % Employed in Manufacturing, 1960 | 58.4 | 13.4 | 96.0 |

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[1] Defined as the lower quartile of migrants in terms of the quality of the origin labor market as measured by aggregate data indicators.

## Table 14.5

## Economic "Gainers" and "Losers" in Migration as a Function of Stated Reason for Migration

(% of those giving economic and non-economic reasons for their prime move who were gainers and losers on their prime move, as measured by various aggregate indicators.)

| | "Gainers" | | "Losers" | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Economic Reason for Migration | Non-economic Reason for Migration | Economic Reason for Migration | Non-economic Reason for Migration |
| Aggregate Male Unemployment Rate 1960 (Male Migrants Only) | 59.1% | 53.1 | 21.0 | 23.4 |
| Aggregate Female Non-employment Rate 1960 (Female Migrants Only) | 86.9 | 78.3 | 1.4 | 0.0 |
| Aggregate % Employed in Agriculture 1960 | 76.5 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 |
| Change ( ) in % Employed in Agriculture 1960, i.e., Agricultural Displacement | 93.0 | 90.2 | 0.2 | 1.1 |
| Aggregate % Employed in Manufacturing 1960 | 60.9 | 55.2 | 15.0 | 11.4 |

is not proven by the data. The percentages of gainers and losers among migrants citing economic and non-economic reasons for their moves are not significantly different. To the extent that a difference does exist, however, its direction is in accord with the hypothesis; that is, migrants who cite economic reasons for migrating are slightly more likely to move to "better" labor markets (as compared to their origin area) than are migrants who cite non-economic reasons.

## Summary

Intermediate migration stops are an important aspect of migration. Regional growth centers appear to act both as alternative final destinations and as intermediate stopping points. Individuals who migrate out of the region are those who, in addition to having experienced economic or life cycle shocks, are highly critical of rural (and apparently regional) jobs, services and amenities. The discrimination factor is especially important, as are age and ties to the rural area. The person who is young, who expects less discrimination in the city and who has few ties to the rural area, is the person most likely to choose to move outside the region.

About two out of every five migrants had made at least two moves since his age 16 residence, and about one in five had made at least three moves. Multiple movers tended to stay relatively short times at their destinations, about a third of the group staying less than one year. Multiple movers among the black sample tended to move about the same distance on each move; Spanish-Americans moved shorter distances on the first move than on subsequent moves, and the Appalachian group showed a weaker version of the same tendency.

Analysis of aggregate indicators of labor market characteristics of successive destinations for multiple movers does not show consistent patterns of "gain" in the sense of improved labor market conditions. A focus on the primary rural-to-urban move for each migrant does show such gains, however. There was a positive but non-significant between this gain and a statement by the migrant that he moved for economic reasons.

# CHAPTER 15: PAST AND FUTURE MIGRATION

In general, the focus of this study has been upon a single rural-to-urban move, considering the individual's migrant or non-migrant status without particular regard to his history of past migration or his feelings about possible future moves. Such a focus has been essential to understanding the nature and causes of a migration which is both clearly definable and of known interest to potential makers of policy. At the same time, however, a limited amount of data was collected on other migrations, actual and contemplated, which were seen to be of interest. Four such moves were included:

Past urban-to-rural migration. It is known that many persons are leaving the city for the countryside, although in currently available statistics these numbers tend to be lost in the net out-migration of rural areas and the net in-migration of the cities. The people who are traveling in this direction are both former rural-to-urban migrants and lifelong city dwellers. The former migrant category includes both persons who have "succeeded" in their migration and are enabled to return, and persons who have "failed" and are forced to return. It was not anticipated that enough urban-to-rural migrants would be found in rural sampling to treat in separate analysis, but questions were included to identify persons with previous city experience.

Future rural-to-urban migration. The group upon which policy is most likely to attempt to operate is not those who have already migrated, who are the principal subjects of our study, but those who are considering such a move at the time the policy is implemented. Questions were asked in the rural sample as to whether or not the respondent thought he might move to the city in the future. This is obviously not a totally reliable indicator of future migration. Some people who have never thought about it will find themselves in circumstances which cause them to move, while others who have thought about the possibility for years will do nothing about it. Nonetheless, at any given time it is likely to be the group thinking of moving to whom policy--especially any information delivery policy--will be addressed.

Future return migration. The category of return migrants was defined above. In addition to identifying those people who had already returned to the rural areas, however, it was also desired to gain some measure of the probability that those migrants we found in the city would at some point go back to the rural environment. Questions about return visits and the likelihood of return migration were therefore asked.

Future urban-to-urban migration. The general concept of "chain" migration, in which the migrant from the rural area does not stop at the first city to which he migrates, has been discussed in some detail in Chapter All of the cities in which urban interviews were conducted were selected primarily on the grounds that they were believed to be destination points for migrants from particular areas, rather than because they might be intermediate points in a migration chain. To some extent it was expected that Greensboro and Albuquerque might serve as such intermediate points, but no major design changes were made in the urban interview to test hypotheses of this sort. When preliminary examination of data from the first cities surveyed revealed the proportion of migrants making more than one stop between their rural origin and the city in which they were interviewed, a question on further urban migration was added to questionnaires in those cities in which survey activities had not already begun (Greensboro and Cincinnati).

In this chapter, then, we will report findings concerning these four aspects of migration. Particular attention will be paid to the significance of previous city experience in disposing rural residents to re-migrate, and the relationship between migration "success" and the propensity for return or on-migration.

## Past Mobility and the Propensity to Migrate--Rural Sample

The rural population contacted through our field visits contained a significant proportion of return migrants. The highest percentage of return was in the Appalachian stream (36.8%), the least in the Southeast stream (24.7%). Some 31.5% of the rural sample had previously lived in cities.

Demographically, the returnees are not strikingly different from the rest of the rural population. More men than women are returnees in the black and especially the Appalachian streams. They tend to appear more often in the 21-26 age bracket, with only the Appalachians showing a high percentage in the under 21 group. Educational and income effects are not evident.

Some 50% of the returnees came back because they were homesick. They say that they wanted to escape the noise, factories, and rush of the city, or simply to be with their families again. 26% cite economic reasons for coming back--losing a job, being unable to afford the higher costs of the city, finding a job at home. Among the remainder of people were those who came home when they fell ill or finished school in the city, those who felt the countryside was a better place to raise children, and those who deplored housing conditions in the city.

One might expect that people moving from the city would bring back with them certain kinds of urban experiences which would differentiate them from the other rural residents, in several respects--in their willingness to move again, for one; in their perceptions of problems in the rural area, for a second; and in the comparisons they make of urban and rural. One might also speculate that city visits and other forms of mobility and urban exposure would have effects in the same areas.

Overall, living in the city at one time is correlated with a greater willingness to move again. The effect of this city exposure is greatest on the Appalachians, as illustrated in the table below, and least on the Spanish-Americans. Urban experience, in effect, acts as an equalizer between the streams in their overall willingness to leave the rural area.

Table 15.1

Return and Re-Migration

| | Southeast | Appalachian | Southwest |
|---|---|---|---|
| % who might move | | | |
| Rural Returnee | 37.1 | 36.1 | 39.3 |
| Rural Non-Migrant | 21.9 | 13.0 | 29.7 |
| Average | 25.8 | 20.1 | 32.7 |
| Sommers D= | .153 | .186 | .111 |

When controlled for age, the effect of return migration is greatest on the older groups, and loses significance for the under 26 year olds. When controlled for sex, it has the greatest effect on males. When differentiated by income, the lowest income group shows the strongest correlation between consideration of migration and previous urban residence.

Those people who returned to the rural area because they prefered the housing and schools there, or because they wanted to see their families again, most frequently say they might go back to the city. People who complained of the rush and loneliness of the city when they came home were significantly less desirous of moving again.

When the rural sample was asked how much money they would require in a city job to move, returnees had a slight tendency to require more, but significantly in the black stream to require much less. This is consistent with the pattern of non-economic influences on migration which characterizes the blacks more than the other streams.

About 72% of the migrants said they had visited a large city before moving, and 76% of the non-migrants who had not lived in a city previously had visited one (over 80% of the rural sample had either lived in or visited an urban area). Considering both the urban and rural samples together, however, there is a relationship between visiting the city for certain reasons and the tendency to migrate. There is, for instance, a very strong relationship between people who go temporarily to the city as migratory workers and those who take up residence there.[1] There is a significant tendency for blacks and Appalachian whites who are exposed to the city in the military and in school to take up residence there (this does not hold for Spanish-Americans). On the other hand, the fact that the great majority of migrants had visited cities on vacation or to see friends prior to migration did not distinguish them from non-migrants, who had a similarly high rate of short-term urban experience of this type. In the rural sample, a visit to a city occasioned by one's job corresponds to a greater reluctance to consider migration (although this tendency is not statistically significant).

The fact that a person has members of his family currently residing in the city is of no particular significance to his willingness to move. The experience of having relatives in the city, is, like visiting the city for social reasons, extremely common. Some 86.5% of the total group had such contacts.

It has been speculated that the sheer fact of past mobility will have an influence on future migration. In order to shed some light on this, mobility during childhood and length of residence in the county was recorded for the rural sample. It turned out that 76% of the sample had never moved outside the county up to the age of 16 (at which point a migration history was gathered on them if they had moved), and that out-of-region mobility was virtually non-existent (4%). County-to-county mobility as a child does not predict willingness to move as an adult. Length of current residence in the county is correlated, however. Almost half of those people who had lived in the county for less than 4 years were considering a future move, as compared with the overall rate of 26%.

Propensity to move from the rural area is strongly associated for all age groups with age and marital status. About 60% of those under 21 in the rural sample (consistent in all streams) were considering a move, compared to between 10 and 20% of the over 40 group. Single people are much more likely to entertain the idea than the separated or divorced, and the separated and divorced more often than married people. There is no consistent or significant pattern for the effects of income, education, or sex, when controlled by stream.

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[1] Sommers D value, over .400 in all streams.

Return from the urban area seems to have more influence on the respondent's comparative view of urban and rural differences than on his reaction to the rural situation itself. Health, housing, education, and social problem indicators (those developed for the analysis in chapters 10-14) were correlated to prior urban residence and urban experience through visits. For the black and Appalachian streams, this experience made perceptions of the city more favorable and tended to tone down criticisms of the rural area. The returning Spanish-Americans on the other hand, if they differed from the general population at all, tended to be more critical of the city. For example, city experience did not distinguish the black returnee from the non-migrants in perception of urban-rural differences in discrimination, whereas the Spanish-American came back feeling more strongly than the other residents that discrimination was worse in the city.

## Migration From the City-- Urban Sample

In examining the possibilities of future migration, the rural resident was questioned on whether he wished to stay in the rural area or move to the city. The urban migrant was probed for his propensity to stay where he was, to move back to the rural area, or to move on to another city.

A number of questions were used to ascertain the propensity of migrants to return--willingness to live there again, frequency of home visits, satisfaction with move to city. When asked if they thought they would ever go back to live in their origin area, 70% said no, 15% said yes, and 15% were uncertain. Again, in accordance with what was found in the rural area, Appalachians had the greatest intention of returning (26% said yes), and the highest frequency of actual return visits (60% "more than twice"). In contrast, the black migrants show the least desire to return (7%)

and the lowest number of return visits (49% more than twice). The correlation between return visits and an expressed likelihood of returning is significant for all streams.[1]

Table 15.2

Probable Return Migration

| "Do you think you'll ever go back to live in (1st rural)?" | Southeast % | Appalachian % | Southwest % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 6.7 | 26.1 | 12.0 | 15.1 |
| Don't know | 14.0 | 18.2 | 12.0 | 14.7 |
| No | 79.3 | 55.8 | 76.0 | 70.2 |

Chisquare significance.001

It is important to know whether this difference in willingness to return is part of a cultural-regional pattern, or whether it reflects differential experiences in the city for blacks and Appalachians. Migrants were evaluated on the "success" of their migration through a direct statement as to whether they would have moved anyway, given that "you knew then what you know now about the city", and through an indirect assessment of their stated economic loss or gain. To the direct question 78% stated that they would do it again. Spanish-Americans were most likely to have this positive reaction, the blacks least.

The indirect measure of success used was the amount of economic gain the migrant experienced after migration. Economic gain is categorized into four groups--"downward", "no change" (within the same $1000/year range), "up one" (which records a jump into the next $1000/year group), and "up two" (which includes a gain of $2000 or more/year).

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1. Chisquare significance, .01.

### Table 15.3

### Move Satisfaction

| | Southeast % | Appalachia % | Southwest % | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| "If you knew then what you know now, do you think you would have moved to(first city)?" | | | | |
| Yes | 73.0 | 75.9 | 85.1 | 78.1 |
| Don't know | 8.2 | 4.1 | 7.5 | 6.5 |
| No | 18.8 | 20.0 | 7.5 | 15.4 |

Chisquare significance .001

When propensity to return is related to each of these measures of "satisfaction" with move, we find that Appalachians who would not "do it again" are significantly more likely to think of returning to the rural area.[1] With the Spanish-Americans, there is a slight but not significant tendency in the same direction. In contrast, the blacks do not in the least increase their stated probability of return after bad experiences with the migration.

Surprisingly, income change does not show a significant and consistent relationship to propensity to return. Income level prior to migration is slightly more predictive in this respect. In general, those migrants who started out with the lowest income level in the rural area are less inclined to return. Those who fell into the highest income group in the rural area, and those who experienced no change in income level when they moved were more likely to talk about going back.

In terms of other demographic variables, age has the strongest effect: the younger the respondent, the greater the inclination to go home again. There was no difference due to sex, education level, or number of years in the city on this variable.

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[1] Chisquare significance, .001; Sommers D, -.433.

*Both the frequency of visiting and the willingness to move back are strongly related to the continued ownership (by self or family) of property in the rural area.* Many migrants retain some place to go back to when they leave--70% of those migrants who owned their homes or farms in the rural area still own them. As it turns out, urban Appalachians report the greatest amount of rural property ownership (33%, compared to 25% in the other two groups) and this is consistent with their greater rates of visits and return. Actually the blacks tended to hold on to what they had more often (87%), but they less frequently had such assets to start with.

In two of the urban survey cities (Greensboro and Cincinnati), respondents were asked at the end of the interview whether they had ever thought about moving on to another big city ("a city up North" for the Greensboro sample). Some 29.7% of the blacks and 24.5% of the Appalachians said yes. Although there is, for the whole group, a slight but not significant tendency for those who consider a return move to also consider a future city move, analysis by stream shows that these two tendencies are actually very different.

In the discussion above, it was mentioned that negative experiences with one's move increased the inclination to return to rural for the Appalachian but had no such effect on the black. Instead, the influence of move-dissatisfaction, as measured by the migrant's stated feelings, acts on the blacks in the direction of future *city* moves[1] and has a reverse effect on the Appalachians. This is entirely consistent with the evidence that members of the Appalachian group do return home more frequently than do blacks.

It must be noted that age has a very strong effect, and that the under 26 group is twice as likely to consider a future city move as the over 26 group (36% compared to 15%). Higher educational groups are also more inclined to city-to-city migration than lower educational groups. Marital status has a corresponding effect, with singles most likely to move again and separated and widowed persons least.

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[1] Chisquare significance, .001, Sommers D, -.149.

## Summary

A relatively high (31%) proportion of ex-city dwellers was found among the rural sample population. Most had moved from the city for reasons relating to a general preference for rural living. Those who had previously lived in a city, especially those who returned for reasons other than general preference, were more frequently considering migration to the city than those who had always lived in rural areas.

Overall, about a quarter of the rural sample said that they had thought about moving to the city. The youngest age groups had an extremely high rate of positive response to this question. Neither prior city visits nor having relatives in the city were predictive of such expressed interest in migrating.

Rural residents with previous city experience tended to have generally more favorable perceptions of the city (as measured by urban/rural comparison questions), and at the same time slightly less critical views of the rural area (as measured by problem perception questions). In these respects, the attitudes of returned migrants appear to be somewhere between those of non-migrants and those of the migrants sampled in urban areas.

About 15% of the urban migrant sample indicated an intention to return some day to the rural area. This rate was substantially the highest among Appalachian whites, and substantially the lowest among Southeastern blacks. This intention to return was not highly correlated with the experience in urban areas, as measured either by the expressed willingness to "do it over again" or reported income gain. There was some tendency for those in the Appalachian group who expressed dissatisfaction with their migration to intend to return to the rural area, and for blacks who expressed similar dissatisfaction to consider moving to another city.

# PART IV:

# BACKGROUND ON THE STREAMS

## Notes on Part IV

During the course of the study, a great deal of formal and informal information was collected aside from the standard questionnaire data. Part IV structures some of this information into a general discussion of the people and the regions studied. The primary emphasis is upon describing the specific counties in which the rural survey was conducted. These areas are more likely to be unfamiliar to the reader than the urban areas visited, and some understanding of their conditions is obviously a prerequisite for understanding the potential migrant's decision to stay there or leave.

Chapter 16 discusses the Southwestern Spanish-Americans. That population group, and the region that encompasses the migrants' origin points, is probably the least familiar to the majority of readers. Chapters 17 and 18 present overviews of the more familiar populations and regions in the Appalachian and Southeast streams.

# CHAPTER 16: THE SOUTHWEST STREAM

## The People

Of the three groups studied in this project, the Southwestern Spanish-Americans have the tightest geographic and cultural definition. The group under study is primarily composed of descendants of Spanish colonizers who settled in what is now the southwestern United States in the 17th century. The current geography of Spanish-American residence is derived directly from Spanish colonial history.

The area which is now New Mexico was first explored in the 16th century by a variety of expeditions, including Cabeza de Baca and members of Coronodo's party. Not until 1598 was the area colonized. In that year Juan de Onate led a party of soldiers and their families up the Rio Grande River to establish a settlement called "San Juan de los Caballeros" in what is now northern New Mexico. The Spanish were driven southwards to Mexico by Pueblo Indians in 1680, but returned in 1692 under the leadership of Don Diego de Vargas to recapture the territory and re-settle the Rio Grande Valley area. During the 18th century Spanish settlement along the Rio Grande and other watersheds gradually increased. New residents of the area arrived directly from Spain or came north from central Mexico. Large tracts of land granted by the Spanish crown abetted the settlement process.

Today Spanish-Americans are found primarily in New Mexico and southern Colorado, approximately the same areas as those settled during the 17th and 18th centuries. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries Spanish-Americans had spread into the plains of eastern New Mexico, southeastern Colorado and western Texas and Oklahoma. But they were principally sheepherders, and the advent of the cattlemen forced them back toward the rivers and the mountainous country of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Today the area inhabited by Spanish-Americans includes primarily villages and settlements grouped within about a 150-mile radius of Santa Fe, New Mexico.[1]

It is this history which forms the principal basis for definition of the Spanish-American population as a distinct group. It is used most frequently to distinguish this group from the "Mexican-Americans", that is, those people who reside in the United States because of a migration -- their own or that of their forebears -- from Mexico. A few words on that distinction are appropriate at this point. The Spanish-Americans, as here defined, tend for most purposes of national policy or public consideration to be lumped under the general title of Mexican-American. This fact bothers many Spanish-Americans, who on the one hand resent the "immigrant" connotations of the term, and on the other consider their own Spanish-based culture significantly different from that of Mexico. Some anthropologists have agreed with the idea of cultural differences, and discuss separately the Spanish-American and Mexican-American groups.[2]

Despite these distinctions, it is by no means clear that Spanish-Americans differ significantly from Mexican-Americans for purposes of understanding and making policy about rural-to-urban migration. Comparison of the characteristics ascribed to the two groups does not reveal policy-relevant differences. A recent study at the University of New Mexico used depth interviews with three groups: Spanish-Americans, Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals residing in the United States. Examining attitudes in a number of fundamental areas (e. g., religion, the family, education, work), the study concluded that "No significant, basic differences were found among the three Spanish-speaking groups. Whatever differences existed were factors of social mobility rather than cultural differences."[1] Thus, while the evidence of similarity between the groups is far too thin to justify statistical generalization from the Spanish-American sample to the Mexican-American population, there is reason to suspect that the findings presented here may be generally applicable to Spanish-speaking groups of the Southwest.

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[1] Clark S. Knowlton, "The Spanish Americans in New Mexico", Sociology and Social Research (1961).

[2] See especially John H. Burma, Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954); and Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).

In general, discussions of either the Mexican-American or the Spanish-American groups present group characteristics in implicit or explicit contrast to the Anglo culture rather than to each other. A catalogue of the Spanish-American characteristics most frequently cited would include: (1) a version of Spanish which has incorporated regional idiosyncracies; (2) a unique village design (discussed below, p. 283); (3) a relatively inflexible social class system; (4) emphasis on large extended family relationships and responsibilities; (5) legal dominance of the male; (6) Roman Catholic religion, with considerable worship of the Virgin Mary; (7) personalist forms of political activity; (8) stress on external forms of human relationships, i. e., courtesy; (9) high valuation of personal freedom and personal pride; (10) consideration of work as an undesirable but generally necessary evil; and (11) medical beliefs mixing medieval Spanish and traditional American Indian practices.[2]

While this profile is a relatively classic one, the culture it describes is in fact neither static nor geographically consistent. The

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1. Horacio Ulibarri, "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics of Spanish-Speaking Migrant and Ex-Migrant Workers in the Southwest" (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, mimeograph, 1966).

2. This particular list is taken from George M. Foster, Culture and Conquest: America's Spanish Heritage (New York: Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1960), pp. 1-4. Other discussions can be found in Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Elmsford, N. Y.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1961); Margaret Clark, Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Burma, op. cit.; and Saunders, op. cit.

isolated cultures studied and described two and three decades ago[1] have felt a "tremendous momentum in the transition from the traditional Spanish American culture to the Anglo way of life"[2] in the period since World War II. Some of the changes are evident in the Ulibarri study: religion was not found to be a strong factor in the lives of the people interviewed; the nuclear family was found to be a crucial element in individuals' lives, but practically no traces were found of the traditional extended family ties.[3] Naturally these changes -- as well as less subtle changes in language, dress, interests -- have occurred at different rates in different areas. In some communities within the general areas studied (especially in Colorado) Spanish-American families could be distinguished only by their surname. Some New Mexican communities present a picture-postcard appearance which could be a century old, but even in such villages the last generation with minimal English-language capability is being replaced by a generation that communicates at least as well in English as Spanish. It is this generation which dominates the migration streams.

## Migration to Urban Centers

Large-scale Spanish-American migration from villages and settlements to urban centers is a phenomenon of the last few decades. Major destination points include the large cities of New Mexico and Colorado (especially Albuquerque and Denver) and Los Angeles. Considerable numbers have also migrated to smaller cities such as Pueblo and Santa Fe in Colorado and New Mexico. Other migration destination points include cities in Arizona (e. g., Phoenix), Utah (e. g., Ogden), Texas (e. g., Dallas) and cities in southern California. A scattering of Spanish-Americans is reported to have moved into cities in Wyoming, Idaho, Washington and Oregon, brought there for the most part by the cycle of migratory agricultural work.

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[1] See for example, George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940).

[2] Knowlton, op. cit., p. 449. Knowlton is particularly critical of the "false impression. . . about the timelessness and static nature of Spanish American villages, institutions, and culture."

[3] Ulibarri, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

The urban survey component of the current project interviewed Spanish-American migrants to Denver and Albuquerque. With the possible exception of the Los Angeles area, these two cities are probably the two major destination points for rural-to-urban migrants among the Spanish-American population. (This conclusion is suggested by 1960 Census data and confirmed by impressions of the field operatives in the survey. Statistical evidence on current patterns is of course not yet available.) Both cities have rapidly-growing Spanish-surname populations within rapidly-growing total populations. Denver, with a population growth rate of 18.8% from 1950 to 1960, had an increase in Spanish-surnamed population from 24,950 to 41,590, or more than 65%.[1] Albuquerque did not have such disparate growth rates largely because of a much greater rate of total increase (107.8%).

In both Denver and Albuquerque there are distinctly identifiable Spanish-American neighborhoods,[2] although compared to the areas in which urban interviewing was done in the Southeastern and Appalachian components of the study, the ethnic homogeneity of the areas was much less. In both cities Spanish-American neighborhoods included significant numbers of Anglo and American Indian families, and in Albuquerque recently arrived black populations have tended to settle in areas characterized as predominantly Spanish-American. New Spanish-American migrants to Denver and Albuquerque tend to scatter throughout the Spanish-American neighborhoods. There are relatively few areas composed mainly of newcomers.

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[1] Norman R. Kurtz, "Gatekeepers in the Process of Acculturation" (Colorado Springs: University of Colorado, unpublished dissertation, 1966), p. 1.

[2] Spanish-American neighborhoods include not only persons who fit our tight definition of Spanish-American, but also Mexican-Americans and other persons of Spanish heritage. In the areas visited, these various Spanish-surname groups did not seem to separate themselves residentially. However, the considerable majority of Spanish-surnamed persons in the areas was of the "Spanish-American" group under discussion.

In both cities, too, the Spanish-Americans constitute a significantly disadvantaged minority population. In an analysis of 1960 Census data for Denver, Norman Kurtz has documented some aspects of this disadvantaged situation.[1] Comparing the Spanish-surnamed group with all others in Denver, he finds that the median income for Spanish-Americans living in Spanish-American neighborhoods[2] is some $2,400 less than the median income for the non-Spanish population. Similarly, 31% of the Spanish-American families received an income in 1959 less than $3,000, as compared with 14% for the non-Spanish population. Unemployment among Spanish-surnamed males was 10.5%; among the rest of the population 3.0%. Some 66% of the Spanish-Americans over age 24 received no more than eight years of formal education, as compared with 27% of the non-Spanish population, despite the fact that the Spanish population is considerably younger.

The position of the Spanish-American in-migrant in the urban center is thus fundamentally similar to the position of Appalachian and Southeastern migrants discussed previously. There are, however, both cultural and physical differences in the environment.

To a greater or lesser extent, all three of the in-migrant groups represent cultural enclaves in the urban society. For the Spanish-

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1. Kurtz, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

2. Because of the Census policy of reporting Spanish-surname data only when there were a minimum of 400 Spanish-surname persons in a Census tract, the figures reported here refer only to Spanish-Americans living in areas of high Spanish-American density. This will exaggerate the disparity between the Spanish and non-Spanish groups. The figures are useful, however, in that those areas were precisely the ones which were surveyed in this project.

Americans, however, the life-style changes required for assimilation into the city system are the greatest. The most obvious barrier is language, but the whole range of cultural values must be revised before the individual is to be effective in the urban environment. The cultural isolation of the Spanish-Americans within the city is sufficiently striking that Kurtz[1] is able to apply the concept of "systemic linkage", a concept used to describe the partial relationships between two separate social systems.[2] Kurtz identifies in Denver specific individuals who perform "go-between" functions assisting members of the Spanish-American in-migrant community in dealings with the dominant social system in the city.

If the first major difference between the Spanish-American and the other in-migrant communities is the culture they bring with them, the second is in the physical environment they find. The southwestern cities, with their relatively recent and geographically unconstrained development, do not offer the traditional "crowded streets" picture of the low-income urban neighborhood. The neighborhoods included in the survey typically consisted of relatively widely spaced single-family dwellings. In Albuquerque, some of the urban poverty areas seem almost rural -- dirt roads that wash away are a problem in some areas, and sheep grazed across the street from a community center that was visited during the survey. The urban poverty of the Spanish-Americans tended to be more a poverty of dust than of smoke, but no less real a poverty.

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[1] Kurtz, op. cit.

[2] The concept is used, for example, to describe the role of the small town residents who act as links with the large urban centers in, Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1960); or to describe the relation of hospital to community in Robert C. Hanson, "The Systemic Linkage Hypothesis and Role Consensus Patterns in Hospital-Community Relations", American Sociological Review, 27 (1962).

## The Rural Environment

Interviews with rural Spanish-Americans were carried out in eight counties, three in Colorado and five in New Mexico. The location of these counties is illustrated in the map on page 12. A line drawn around the marked counties would roughly define the central region of Spanish-American concentration. The larger circle drawn on the map indicates the general region whose counties were cited as origin points by migrants to Denver and Albuquerque. The extra area included in this larger region has a somewhat lower density of Spanish-American population.

The counties surveyed in the Southwest are larger in land area and smaller in population than the counties of the Southeastern and Appalachian samples. Huerfano is the smallest county surveyed, with an area of 1574 square miles, and Socorro the largest with 6603. A geographically square county with a land area equal to the average of the counties surveyed would be 60 miles on each side. Yet the mean population of the eight counties is only about 13,500. The mean population density of less than 4 persons per square mile compares with a national average of 51 and a Mountain States[1] rate of 8. La Plata County, with a density of 11 persons per square mile, is the only one of the eight counties whose rate surpasses 5.

These statistics are represented to the observer in terms of long drives through unpopulated territory between very small towns. Durango, in La Plata, and Trinidad, in Las Animas, are the two largest towns; both have 1960 populations slightly over 10,000. The prototypical county would have within its borders one town of population greater than 5,000, but would have nearby a somewhat larger city whose labor market and consumer services would be frequently used by county residents.

Apart from the one major town, most of the population of the counties is clustered in scattered small communities. Some of these small communities are based on a highway intersection, a tourist attraction or similar non-agricultural economic stimuli. The Spanish-American concentration in such communities tends to be relatively lower. The small communities of high Spanish-American density tend to be older and to have their historical origin in Spanish land grants. Typically, these grants were made to a group of settlers, each settler receiving a house and lot in the village and parcels of irrigated land nearby. Grazing and forest lands around the village would become the village commons, and settlers would have the right to graze livestock on these lands.[1] Out of such history grew a pattern in which the center of the community would contain public buildings -- churches, government buildings, markets -- with the houses of the well-to-do close to the center of town and those of the poor on the outskirts. The more typically Anglo-American practice of separated dwellings located on unified farm and ranch lands was seldom followed, accounting in part for the apparent emptiness of land between the communities.

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[1] Mountain States is a Census region including Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Nevada.

### Economic Structure

The traditional economic base for the region under study was agriculture, and agriculture remains the main basic (or "export") economic activity of the eight counties in the sample. Major cash crops are grains -- alfalfa, wheat, oats -- and a variety of vegetable crops (e.g., chili peppers in Rio Arriba, potatoes in Torrance). Cattle ranching rivals or surpasses cultivated crops in value in all counties. A large number of subsistence and sub-subsistence farms produce livestock and garden vegetables for family consumption. Agricultural production in the region as a whole has lagged far behind national and state economic growth levels in recent decades, and in some cases the absolute level of agricultural production has declined. Typical of national trends, it has been the small farmer who has been hardest squeezed, and this has been especially true for the Spanish-American group. Small farms, faced by the economic inefficiency of mechanization, have tended to be sold and conglomerated into larger cattle ranching operations. In the period 1959 to 1964, the number of farms existing in the eight counties declined by more than 11%, while the average farm size increased by over 13%.[1]

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[1] Knowlton, op. cit., pp. 449-450. See also Burma, op. cit.

Although the pattern of large farm consolidation is similar to that seen elsewhere in the United States, it has become a sensitive and sometimes hotly political issue with the Spanish-American population. The small size of current holdings is due in part to the Spanish tradition of dividing land among the heirs (in contrast to the English tradition of primogeniture), but also in part to a century-old process of land loss to Anglos through legal, semi-legal and outright illegal means.[2] Those who own the large cattle ranches today, those who are purchasing small farms, tend to be Anglos, especially Texans. (In this context, "Texan" has come to be a perjorative term referring to any out-of-state Anglo who buys land.) Many Spanish-Americans of small means therefore tend to think of agricultural land consolidation as one part of a systematic attack on their land rights.

The generally stagnant picture of agriculture is not balanced by significant growth in other sectors, except in isolated cases. Taking the eight counties together, the most recent statistics show an overall decline in manufacturing activity. The value added to products by manufacturing declined by about 16% from 1958 to 1963, while in the nation as a whole manufacturing value added increased by more than 35% in the same period. In several of the eight counties mining was once a principal economic activity but has become insignificant in recent years.

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[1] County and City Data Book, 1967, Table 2. When statistics are reported for the eight sampled counties in this section, the source will be Table 2 of the Data Book unless otherwise specified.

[2] Knowlton, op. cit., p. 451.

(This characteristic is not necessarily typical of the region, however, for in several areas major mining operations have been established in the post-World War II period.) Only tourism among the "export" economic activities has shown substantial recent growth, as the historical monuments, Indian reservations and hunting and fishing areas which abound in the region have drawn large numbers of visitors. Otherwise, almost all economic indicators reveal patterns of stagnation and decline.

The employment structure of the eight counties shows generally heavy employment in government, service, and agricultural sectors. In the five New Mexico counties in 1966 (exactly comparable data is not available for Colorado), the median proportion of the working labor force employed in government was 31.8%.[1] In the service sector (including wholesale and retail trades), the median was 21.7%. The agricultural employment rate was the most variable, ranging from 7.2% in Rio Arriba to 45.5% in Mora. (These figures compare with national rates of 16.5% in government, 30.0% in service and 5.3% in agriculture in the same year.) Significantly absent from this picture is substantial employment in manufacturing: the median proportion employed in manufacturing in the eight counties in 1960 was about 5%, compared with a national rate of more than 27%; and manufacturing employment declined an average of over 5% from 1958-1963.

A high rate of unemployment accompanies the skewed employment picture. Published statistics traditionally understate unemployment in rural areas because of the high proportion of non-covered jobs. Nonetheless, reported unemployment for the five New Mexico counties in 1966 ranges from 6 to 18 per cent.[2] Given the high rate of employment in seasonal industries (agriculture, construction, tourism), the unemployment rate naturally is much higher than this average during the winter months.

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[1] Linda L. De Berry and Ralph L. Edgel, Income and Employment in New Mexico, 1965-66 (University of New Mexico, Bureau of Business Research, 1968).

[2] New Mexico, State Planning Office, Preliminary Economic Development Plan for the State of New Mexico (Santa Fe, 1969), p. 41.

Not surprisingly, the Spanish-Americans are among the groups which feel most strongly the pinch of such economic phenomena as the negative growth rate and high unemployment rates. Their generally lower level of educational achievement, their language difficulties and their presumably less "modern" cultural values all contribute to a competitive disadvantage for Spanish-Americans in the labor market. It would not be quite correct to assume that this situation is precisely analogous to that faced by the Southeastern blacks, however. First, the obstacles to employment posed by discrimination appear to be less significant for the Spanish-American. In addition, American Indians constitute in many of the counties a significant minority group whose competitive position is even worse than that of the Spanish-Americans. Taking all this into account, however, the fact remains that the Spanish-Americans have especially high unemployment rates; and in these areas of general poverty, the Spanish-Americans are especially poor. (See Table 1 6. 1. )

## Service and Program Structure

The system of goods and services available to the individual from public and private sources has much to do with the "quality of life" experienced in a particular environment. A generalized description of the service structure of the eight counties visited in the Southwest survey would be typical of all rural poverty areas: too few services, of relatively low quality and relatively high cost, and too hard to get to.

In the area of housing, the particular problem is the quality of housing which is available within the ability of the poor to pay. Much of the housing is in the traditional adobe construction, although more recently built dwellings tend to be wood or concrete. Dirt floors are common. Statistics again serve as an indicator of the problem: a

## Table 16. 1

## Employment Participation and Income Rates, 1960

| | Employment Participation[2] | Families with Income Under $3000 |
|---|---|---|
| Rural Spanish-Americans[1] | | |
| Colorado | 16% | 51% |
| New Mexico | 18% | 54% |
| Sample County Median | | |
| Colorado[3] | 28% | 37% |
| New Mexico[4] | 27% | 43% |
| United States | 36% | 21% |

1. Includes all "farm" and "rural non-farm" persons in the states (county by county figures not available). Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963). Other figures taken from County and City Data Book.

2. Number employed divided by total population, 1960.

3. Huerfano, La Plata and Las Animas counties.

4. Colfax, Mora, Rio Arriba, Socorro and Torrance counties.

median of about 50% of the houses are described as sound, with all plumbing facilities, as compared with a national figure of 74%. The visitor to the area observes large numbers of houses in evident disrepair, and surprisingly many which have been abandoned. The inhabited houses have a low level of conveniences. In the "index of home equipment" compiled in the 1960 Census of Housing, the eight-county median is about 15% below the national norm.

While adequate housing is by no means easy for the poor to achieve, the housing problem is probably less severe in the counties included in the Southwestern survey than in the other regions studied. Out-migration has contributed to the existence of substantial numbers of uninhabited houses and, while many migrants retain ownership of their houses, there are some which can be purchased and improved sufficiently for residence at relatively low cost. Population decline tends to reduce the price of housing and real estate in general. In addition, many Spanish-Americans live on land which has been in the hands of their family for generations. The result is a relatively high quantity, if not quality, of available housing. This is reflected in the fact that 80% of the Southwestern rural interviewees reported that they owned their own homes, as compared with less than 60% in the other two groups.

Members of the Spanish-American sample live in a region which is renowned, and even advertised, for its healthful climate. The people are not highly critical of health services in general. Nonetheless, even with the traditional non-reporting bias of rural areas, statistics indicate a comparatively high incidence of disease in these counties.[1] Two of the eight counties have no hospital, and one has neither hospital nor clinic. Typically, the one or two hospitals and virtually all other medical facilities are concentrated at one point in the county, usually the largest town, creating a considerable access problem. Treks of 30 or 40 miles to the nearest full-time doctor are not uncommon, and the comparatively unsophisticated facilities available in the counties make it necessary for some serious cases to be taken another 50 to 100 miles to a large city. Some instances of apparent discrimination in providing medical assistance to poor or Spanish-American persons were reported, but this did not seem to be a pervasive problem.

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[1] For the five New Mexico counties, 1966 statistics included: infectious hepatitis, .61 cases per 1,000 population; measles, 1.32; streptococcal sore throat and scarlet fever, 27.45; tuberculosis, .35. The U.S. statistics for the same year were: hepatitis, .16; measles, 1.04. strep. and scarlet fever, 2.17; tuberculosis, .24.

Spanish-Americans are relatively low achievers in an educational system of average or slightly less than average quality. The median education level of the rural Spanish-American population in Colorado is 8.1 years, and less than 5 years in New Mexico (compared with a national median of 10.6). A median of about 20% of the population of the eight counties has less than 5 years of education, as compared with a national average of 8.4%. Current Spanish-American students are reported by school officials to have a slightly higher than average drop-out rate, and a considerably lower than average rate of education beyond high school.

Most of the smaller communities in the counties have a single elementary school, and there is usually one high school per three or four communities. This requires considerable commuting time on the part of the students. Bus routes 30 to 50 miles long are common, and snow keeps many children from school in the winter months. School facilities are generally good, with many high schools quite recently built. Teacher quality is considered to be average. While all school districts disclaim any discrimination in hiring, practices clearly vary. In some counties it is very difficult for a Spanish-American to get a teaching job, though in a minority of the districts the Spanish-Americans outnumber Anglos in the faculties.

Most of the schools have the standard public school curriculum, although some have introduced a slightly more extensive set of prevocational courses than usual. Conspicuously absent in all but a few cases is any system for dealing with the language problems with which many Spanish-American children enter schools. The general policy is that English only will be spoken in the school, with reliance on a more or less osmotic language learning process. Spanish is rarely taught in any form, with the result that Spanish-American children graduate from high school with a total inability to read or write the language in which they are most orally fluent.[1] Some of the public schools (or community colleges, which exist in several of the eight counties) offer adult education courses, but little of this effort is directed toward the special problems of the Spanish-Americans.

The goods and services privately available to Spanish-Americans of the Southwest do not differ noticeably from those of the small towns throughout the country. Several small grocery stores exist in each of the smaller communities, with two or three larger independent or chain supermarkets in the largest town in the county. By the same token, the small towns have general stores and sometimes used car dealers, while specialty stores, one or two larger department stores, and franchised new car dealers are located in the larger towns. In all of the counties except La Plata (which has no major city within a two or three hour drive), people tend to commute 50 to 100 miles to larger cities for major purchases. To a lesser extent, especially for the poor, the same commute is made for entertainment. Entertainment within the county typically consists of movies and bowling alleys in the larger towns, and television, bars, outdoor sports, and activities centered around schools, churches and other community organizations. In some of the more concentrated Spanish-American areas, traditional holidays are observed in community festivities.

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[1] This phenomenon was evident in the local residents who served as interviewers for the survey. Almost all of them preferred to use the English rather than the Spanish version of the instrument, despite the fact that their own first language, the language they would usually use among themselves, was Spanish. Even when interviewing respondents who spoke no English, the interviewers were better able to use the English form--to make a spontaneous translation of the question into Spanish, and re-translate the answer for recording--than simply to use the Spanish questionnaire.

A problem common to most of the service areas is distance, and thus transportation. Most Spanish-American families own a pick-up truck or a car, or both, with the average vintage being four to eight years.[1] Good, all-weather roads link the major town in each county with surrounding major towns, and slightly lower quality roads tie most of the smaller communities to the main highways. Houses are seldom more than a mile from main roads, but that mile is generally dirt road subject to considerable weather damage. In the northern counties, snow makes driving very difficult on all but the major highways during the relatively long winters. Public transportation consists of infrequent long-distance bus service, and for some counties railroad service. To the majority of the population "transportation" means privately owned vehicles.

A relatively few special assistance programs are available in the area to the Spanish-American poor. Most consistently present is the Community Action Program, although its components, level of activity and image in the community vary widely. In several counties the CAP has foundered, either through involvement in local politics or through an inability to generate enthusiasm on the part of the target population. Specific CAP-administered programs (e. g., Headstart, Emergency Food and Medical Assistance) appear to be well received even where controversy surrounds CAP administrators. Other special assistance programs existing in some, but not all, of the eight counties include VISTA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Model Cities. In Colorado counties a recently initiated program called Uplands, Inc., is working to provide entrepreneurial and employment opportunities. Significantly, all of these programs are Federally funded, involving little or no governmental participation at other levels.

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[1] Many of these vehicles, however, are only marginally operative. In response to a question on car ownership, one subject insisted that the interviewer record all the facts: "I own it, yes. But whether it will start is another question."

If the most common organizational form active among the Spanish-American population is the CAP, the prevalent program type is one of training. Such nation-wide programs as MDTA, CEP, WIN and Operation Mainstream are all active in one or more of the eight counties surveyed. Most of these programs, through accident or design, tend to prepare trainees for migration. Although we have seen elsewhere in this study that persons receiving job training in the rural area are more likely to remain there than to move to the city, this must to some degree be despite -- rather than because of -- the specific types of training received. Much training tends either to over-produce for locally needed skill areas (e. g., an MDTA class of 30 beauticians in a town with only two small beauty shops) or to consciously train people for job markets in larger, out-of-county towns. Most training is specifically geared toward job placement; some programs include placement activities, and in some cases training is almost incidental to employment. In a few cases, training is not seen as directly employment-related. An example is the Home Education Livelihood Program (HELP), an OEO program in New Mexico aimed at improving the home skills (e. g., carpentry) of farmers and seasonal agricultural workers.

Many of the Spanish-American poor depend on the more traditional and direct forms of public assistance, welfare and related programs. Figures from 1964 state that there were 11,097 recipients of public assistance in the eight counties, or 10.3% of the 1960 population. This compares with a national rate of 4.0%. The major case burdens tend to be in food stamps, aid to the aged, aid for dependent children, and aid to the disabled, in approximately that order.

Attitudes toward welfare, on the part of recipients and of administrators, vary widely from county to county. In a minority of the situations, welfare administrators are seeking ways to reach more of the needy, are hiring Spanish-American case workers to work with Spanish-American populations, are increasing the amount of "outreach" involved in public assistance. More common but seldom articulated is the attitude that welfare recipients are getting something for nothing, and that they could go out and find a job if they really wanted to. Some administrators in almost all counties express concern about a "cycle" of dependency, and point to cases of Spanish-American families which have continued welfare dependency for three generations.

Most Spanish-American recipients appear to be reasonably satisfied with the procedures of welfare administration. There is little talk of discrimination and there have been no significant welfare rights organizations or activities. Considerable disagreement exists concerning the application of Spanish-American cultural values to the welfare situation. Anecdotal evidence was presented by both welfare administrators and members of the Spanish-American poor population, to the effect that Spanish-Americans regard the receipt of welfare as shameful, and that many persons refuse welfare rather than incur a loss of honor. Other people -- including some from the same places and the same populations -- felt that this reluctance was either mythical or a phenomenon of the past. Very few people felt that migration decisions were motivated one way or the other by welfare rates.

## Political and Social Structure

The social and political structure in which the Spanish-American lives is perhaps less tangible and more difficult to describe concretely than the economic and service structures, but it is nonetheless closely related to an individual's attitudes about his place of residence and his perception of his future there. Three common types of social structure can be described, with the principal variable being the relationship of the Spanish-American to the Anglo component of the community.

In the first type of social structure, the Spanish-American community is numerically or otherwise dominant. Even in this situation, the Anglos typically dominate the upper portions of the economic structure, owning the banks, the large agricultural operations, and some of the principal industrial or commercial enterprises. The Spanish-Americans, however, control most of the political system and the lower portions of the economic structure. Both elected and appointed officials are Spanish-American, the latter a result both of the personalist Spanish-American political style and the general importance of political patronage in job-shortage situations. Typically, this structure is found in communities with a long Spanish-American history and a relatively recent Anglo presence. Comparatively few reports of discrimination are heard in such a situation; both elements in the community appear to the observer to be relatively secure in their own roles.

In the second structural type, the Spanish-Americans constitute a minority community within a community dominated by Anglos. In this situation, the Anglos control most of both the economic and the political systems. The history may be that of a small, agriculture-based, Spanish-American community which at some point experienced rapid growth of manufacturing or commercial activities. The major participants in the new activities were Anglos moving into the community. In such a situation there tends to be considerable isolation between the two community elements. Entry of Spanish-Americans into Anglo-dominated activities is made difficult by lack of preparation or experience. This structure magnifies the impact of any discriminatory tendencies of the Anglos, and may lead Spanish-Americans to perceive discrimination even if none consciously exists.

The third type of social structure is one in which there is no Spanish-American community as a self-conscious community. Rather, individual Spanish-Americans consider themselves primarily in relationship to the larger community, even though that community has predominantly Anglo characteristics. The Spanish-Americans in such cases give the appearance of having deliberately or unconsciously internalized Anglo cultural values. Some resent being identified as Spanish-American, seeing an implication of differences which do not exist. This is generally a situation of little reported discrimination, or discrimination ascribed to its own supporters. The difficulty in judging the extent of any of these forms of discrimination is that a transition out of "minority" status is possible for individuals who internalize the dominant Anglo values. In every community the proponents of the "no discrimination" thesis will point to Spanish-Americans who have "made it", who have gone to college, who make a substantial income, who live in the best section of town. It is the potential for this sort of social mobility that leads to the comparatively mild perceptions of discrimination of the Spanish-American as opposed to the black sample groups.

## Migration

As Table 16.2 below indicates, all but one of the eight counties visited had substantial rates of net out-migration. La Plata, the exception, owed its net in-migration rate largely to the growth of Durango, the largest town in the southwestern counties of Colorado. With the exception of La Plata and Socorro counties, heavy out-migration in the 1950-60 period led to a decline in the total population.

Table 16.2

Population Change and Migration, Southwestern Sample

| | Population Change 1950-60 | Net Migration 1950-60 |
|---|---|---|
| Huerfano, Colo. | -25.4 | -34.7 |
| La Plata, Colo. | 29.2 | 6.6 |
| Las Animas, Colo. | -22.9 | -35.9 |
| Colfax, N.M. | -17.6 | -33.1 |
| Mora, N.M. | -30.9 | -49.6 |
| Rio Arriba, N.M. | - 3.2 | -35.2 |
| Socorro, N.M. | 5.1 | -18.9 |
| Torrance, N.M. | -18.1 | -40.1 |

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These figures compare with a national growth rate of 18.5% during the same period, and a growth rate for the Mountain States of 35.1%, including net in-migration of 11.1%.

Everyone in the counties is to some extent aware of the movement of people to the cities, and most people agree that it is a lack of local job opportunities which forces this exodus. A typical statement was made by a Spanish-American county official in Rio Arriba: "Our people love the land, love this place. They leave only because they have to, and they come back when they can. Some come all the way from Utah or California for special feast days." People are not necessarily conscious of the magnitude of the out-migration. One high school principal initially stated that he felt that very few people were leaving. But after several questions about the probable future of students now in the ninth grade of his school, he came up with an estimate that less than 10% of those students would make their permanent homes in the county. People are most conscious of the young departing, although in conversation they will cite examples of persons in their 30's or 40's who have recently left. Among the lower-income groups especially, it is the young, the healthy, the ambitious who are seen leaving.

Local governmental and other organizations vary in their policies toward migration. Some officials appear to regard migration as inevitable, neither requiring policy nor susceptible of influence by it. In schools and training programs there is often an implicit or explicit goal of preparation for work in a city somewhere else. Almost never is there any activity aimed at holding potential migrants in their home county. Asked whether they would encourage their pupils to stay in the county, school and training officials tended to ask in return, "For what?" Some persons concerned with development of the counties exhibited concern at the high rates of out-migration. But the majority of officials and businessmen, accustomed to a surplus of candidates for jobs, felt that if new industry could be induced to locate in the county the jobs would be easily filled. Few saw the out-migration rate as an obstacle in recruiting new industry, more frequently citing problems of transportation or lack of infrastructure.

The process of Spanish-American out-migration is thus a quiet one. Everyone knows it is happening. People point to the direct effects, the empty houses, the missing friends, the dying traditions, the absence of young people. Few people have any conception of the magnitude of the flow or its indirect impacts. In the counties in the sample, the fertility of the remaining population is sufficient to maintain positive rates of natural increase in the population, but in several the rate in the 1960-65 period is noticeably lower than for 1950-60. There is no feeling that the out-migration process is naturally changing its pace, and no real optimism that the deus ex machina of jobs will appear in the near future to change the situation.

# CHAPTER 17: THE APPALACHIAN STREAM

## The Migrants

Of the three streams studied, the Appalachians exhibit the strongest ties to the rural home and way of life. As a group, they tend to be the most physically isolated in the rural area. The rugged topography fosters a sense of being up against physical odds, which in turn fits with the proverbial picture of independence, endurance, and in-group loyalties of the Appalachian mountaineers. The "community" and the sense of group identification is limited by the specific valley or "holler" in which people live. People inside the community know one another very well; they are, in fact, all likely to be cousins in some way. Everyone outside the holler, even someone from the next valley over, is considered an "outsider." The clan loyalties and pride inherent in the fabled Hatfield and McCoy bloodshed are still very much alive.

The Appalachian mountain region stretches from New York to Mississippi. This is a huge and highly diverse region. The specific area upon which the present study focuses is the central Appalachian Region, including eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia, northern Tennessee, southern Ohio, and the southern part of Virginia. This area was chosen for the rural survey because it happened to contain the largest number of stated origin points for the Appalachian migrants found in Columbus and Cincinnati. These two "destination" cities were chosen for study on the basis of high recent in-migration and relative concentration of the Appalachians in the inner city. Other major destination points for Appalachian migrants include primarily the other north central cities--Ohio cities such as Cleveland or Akron, and more distant points such as Chicago and Detroit.

It was the experience of the survey teams in Columbus and Cincinnati that Appalachian neighborhoods could be defined, despite the greater advantage of this population group in not having the language or color barriers of the Spanish-American and black streams. The picture of "whole communities migrating together" was not found to a strong degree, however.

Because of the high degree of residential turnover, the familiarity of one migrant family with another on the block was not found to the extent expected. There was, however, a tendency for each destination city to be tied to a particular region of sending counties. Migrants to Columbus came primarily from adjacent counties in eastern Kentucky and southern West Virginia, whereas migrants to Cincinnati came primarily from the southern areas of eastern Kentucky.

Changing patterns of migration were also suggested through survey experience in the cities. Recent migrants, or those who had arrived from the rural area within the last five years, were more difficult to find in the Cincinnati survey. Two explanations were offered by the migrants themselves: 1) the greatest flow of migration occurred during the 1950's when the mines gave out, and is much smaller now; and 2) a certain proportion of the migrants of the last decade became successful, and moved to the outer areas of the city to be near the country. The newer migrants of the 1960's, who have friends and relatives in the "successful" group tended to follow them directly to the suburbs--instead of the inner city where the survey concentrated. The first explanation is, of course, supported by statistics[1]. The second has been suggested independently by other researchers of Appalachian migration, but lacks supportive evidence.

The Appalachian migrant is at a competitive disadvantage when he reaches the city. Compared to the native urban resident he is likely to have less education and fewer special work skills. Compared to other groups who migrate to the city, however--most notably the Mexican-Americans and the blacks--the Appalachians tend to do better economically.[2] Despite their greater economic success, however, the Appalachians do not usually prefer city life, especially in comparison to black migrants. The regimentation and impersonality of the urban housing and work situations are unfamiliar and unpleasant. Rates of return migration to the rural area are known to be higher for the Appalachian stream than for the other streams, although a permanent return appears to be less characteristic than a back-and-forth movement.

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[1] The Appalachian Regional Commission reports that "the out-migration rate from the Central Appalachian area is about one-third of what it was in the decade of the 1950's," Annual Report, 1968, p. 8.

[2] See Gene B. Petersen and Laure M. Sharp, Southern Migrants to Cleveland (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1969) and Daniel Price, A Study of Economic Consequences of Rural to Urban Migration (Austin, Texas: TRACOR, 1969).

As the table below illustrates, all counties included in the present study show high rates of net out-migration for the years 1950-1960. A median 37 percent of the rural population out-migrated in this period, similar to the rate of migration experienced by Spanish-Americans in the Southwest, and much higher than that experienced by the blacks from the Southeast. Heavy out-migration led to total population decline in all but two counties. Population decrease is most notable in the southeastern Kentucky region (Bell, Harlan, Perry: 24.0-28.8%) and least in the two counties bordering on the Ashland-Huntington metropolitan area (Wayne, West Virginia and Jackson, Ohio: 0.7-5.8% increase).

Table 17.1

Net Migration and Population Change

| County | Net Migration 1950- - 1960 % | Population Change 1950-1960 % |
|---|---|---|
| Bell, Kentucky | -42.8 | -25.8 |
| Harlan, Kentucky | -47.6 | -28.8 |
| Lawrence, Kentucky | -28.2 | -15.8 |
| Martin, Kentucky | -34.6 | -12.6 |
| Perry, Kentucky | -47.7 | -24.9 |
| Jackson, Ohio | - 7.6 | 5.8 |
| Mingo, West Virginia | -39.8 | -16.2 |
| Wayne, West Virginia | -18.7 | 0.7 |
| Median: | -37.2 | -16.0 |

## The Rural Environment

The over-riding characteristic of the central Appalachian region is the rough terrain and the consequent physical isolation of large numbers of people. National transportation routes have traditionally bypassed the region. Early patterns of settlement, in which millions of people were scattered across ridges and along narrow creek bottoms, still prevail.

Not only is each county decentralized into hundreds of very small communities, but the counties themselves tend to divide the region into small and artificially determined jurisdictions. The counties are smaller than those in the Southeast or Southwest of the country and fail to conform either to the natural contours of the land or to the economic trade areas. The smallest county, Martin, Kentucky, has a land area of only 231 square miles, as compared to the smallest of our Southeastern sample, with 1,574 square miles, or the U.S. average, which is 620. The average Appalachian county, if square, would only be 20 miles across. Not only is this so small an area as to hinder independent long-range efforts at development, but it may happen that the most productive towns within the county lines less logically serve the rest of the county than they do the rural parts of surrounding counties. Regional commissions have been established in recognition of the need for cooperation across county and state lines, but governing authority does not reside at this level and coordinated effort is therefore frequently impossible.

A typical county for size and population density, Perry County, Kentucky, is classified as an "isolated semi-rural area containing at least one incorporated place of 2,500 or more persons but neither included in nor adjacent to a standard metropolitan statistical area."[1] The mean population density for the eight Appalachian counties in the survey is 77 persons per square mile, close but slightly less than that in the Southeast counties and much greater than that in the Southwest. The percentage "urban", however, which is defined by the Census as all persons living in places of 2,500 inhabitants or more, is generally lower in the Appalachian counties than in either of the other two areas (a median of 20.5).

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[1] OEO Information Center, Community Profile on Perry County, Kentucky.

The Huntington-Ashland metropolitan area is by far the largest urban concentration in the region of Appalachia under study. This SMSA effects the adjacent West Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio counties (especially Jackson in Ohio; Lawrence in Kentucky; and Wayne in West Virginia). Of the counties in the more southern part of Kentucky, only one--Bell--included a town with 1960 population over 6,000. Middlesboro, in Bell County, is a fast-growing town of 12,000 (1960 Census). It is the largest urban center within commuting distance for Harlan, Bell and Perry, since Lexington and Huntington are between 100 and 150 miles away. Because of the difficult transportation in this region of Kentucky, however, it is extremely difficult for people within the rural parts of Bell and adjacent counties to take advantage of jobs and services in Middlesboro. A field staff visitor to this area observes that "the county seems to be a conglomerate of small isolated communities and farms, plus the two larger towns. There is a distinct difference between Middlesboro and the rest of the county--in terms of economic condition and outlook, physical condition of buildings and roads, and extent of the conveniences of modern life."

## Economic Base

Traditionally the Appalachian region has depended upon a heavily specialized economy concentrated primarily in the mining industry. Due to the ruggedness of the land and the shallowness of the soil, commercial agriculture has never been extensive. In the 1950's, the latent problems of a one-sided economy became acute as mining, rail, and agricultural employment plummeted. Advancing technology and changing markets wiped out over half of the employment in agriculture and mining (compared to the rest of the nation which suffered a loss of one-third of its jobs in agriculture and 1% of its mining employment). At the same time, compensatory gains in other sectors, such as manufacturing, services and contract construction occurred at only one-half to two-thirds of the national rates of growth. Unemployment and economic decline rose to disastrous heights in the 1950's. In some rural areas in eastern Kentucky, actual unemployment was 80% of the male labor force. Desperate living conditions reflected the unemployment rates. It was during this decade that 2.2 million people left the Appalachian region.[1]

Since 1961 an upswing in the national economy has increased the demand for coal, steel, timber and the various manufactured products of the region. Employment and personal income levels have risen accordingly. Taking the Appalachian region as a whole, unemployment rates fell from 8.6% in 1962 to 4.6% in 1967. Part of the improvement is due to the construction of new roads and public facilities under the regional development programs.

There remain large areas of rural Appalachia, however, which have not participated in this general improvement. Central Appalachia, especially those counties from which most of the migrants of this study come, contains high unemployment and economic stagnation still. Statistics from 1967 for six of the counties show unemployment ranging from 9.8 to 22.6 percent[2] (compared to the overall central Appalachian rate of 4.8 percent). In most cases this figure represents an increase from the early 1960's.

The present employment structure of the eight counties under study depends mainly upon the mining, trade and government sectors. In 1963, the median proportion of the working labor force in mining (of coal or oil and gas) was about 21%, in retail and wholesale trade 13%,

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1. The Appalachian Regional Commission, Annual Report, 1968, p. 2.

2. "Capital Resources in the Central Appalachian Region," (a report prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission by Checci and Company, Washington, D. C.; August 1969, Appendix C.

local and federal government 9%, and manufacturing 5%.[1] (This compares with national figures of 1% in mining, 25% in trades, 15% in government work, and 17% in manufacturing.) Of the counties visited, Jackson, Ohio is most at variance with the general picture because of relatively high employment in manufacturing (20%) and an insignificant number of jobs in mining (2%).

The greatest variability between counties, in respect to the non-agricultural industries, occurs in mining and manufacturing. Mining is still the largest source of employment for half of the areas studied, whereas for the others, employment in this sector does not average more than 7 percent.

Mining activity shows the greater decline, however, in those four counties which depend most heavily upon this sector for employment: Harlan, Martin, Perry and Mingo experienced an average drop of 40% in mining activity for the years 1960 to 1963. It appears that the coal field is shifting. County residents are clear on the fact that present mines are working out. The demand for coal seems to have leveled, and residents expect fewer mines in 1970 than there were in 1960.

In those areas where new operations have opened up and mineral extraction has increased, mechanization is great. These newer operations tend to provide high-paying, steady, and much-sought work. (In contrast, the majority of mines, especially in those areas which have been mining counties historically, tend to be non-unionized, unreliable, low-paying, and dangerous.) Mechanization and unionization act to keep the total number of jobs low. Those counties, therefore, with the highest growth rates in mineral extraction activities (Jackson, Lawrence, and Bell) show the lowest rates of job increases in mining.

With a median 33% decline in the chief economic sector of the four primary mining counties, growth recorded in the other smaller sectors of the economy, though positive, does not adequately compensate. The four counties show a median growth rate from 1959 to 1963 of 38% in manufacturing activity (which constitutes 4% of the employment), 7% growth of sales in retail trade (about 10% of employment), and 18% increase in receipts in a service sector (which involves 11% of the working force).

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[1] Based upon figures published in the *City and County Data Book, 1967*. The base employment figure was taken from 1960 and the specific sector figures from 1963.

Manufacturing is significant in three of the counties which depend least on mining--Jackson, Ohio, mentioned above; Wayne, West Virginia; which is adjacent to the Huntington-Ashland SMSA; and Bell County, Kentucky, which contains within its borders the small city of Middlesboro. Manufacturing employment in these three counties averages 15 percent as compared with 4 percent in the remaining counties.

Fluctuations in economic growth between counties and within counties over time are greatest in the manufacturing sector. Since the beginning of the 1960's, the value-added of manufacturing has been steadily increasing for the whole eight counties (at a median rate of 57 percent compared with the national rate of 35 percent). Since absolute numbers of workers in manufacturing may be under 100 for a county, however, changes which may be caused by the opening or closing of a single plant can have a drastic effect upon the rate of employment in that sector. In the three years from 1960 to 1963, employment in manufacturing increased at an overall rate of 40%, but this figure includes one county which declined 24% (Perry) and one which increased at a rate of 134% (Wayne). With the difficulties of transportation, the benefits as well as the basis of this overall growth have been skewed--disproportionately contained within the major towns in the counties. Also, these figures do not reflect significant changes which have taken place since 1963, such as the completion of the Mountain Parkway highway into Hazard, Ky., and the subsequent growth of manufacturing there.

Attempts at increasing the number of manufacturing jobs through the attraction of industry have been generally slow to succeed. Where they have, a combination of infrastructure (good roads, available bottomland, adequate utilities) and dynamic local leadership seem to be the key factors. There is almost no mention of work force problems in these counties--there is a surplus of labor, and the labor is declared to be motivated and very reliable. Workers who have jobs feel fortunate to have them and maintain a good record to keep them.

Schools and highway construction have traditionally been the source of preferred government jobs. In fact the school system is the single largest employer in two of the counties studied. Facilities unique to one or another county, such as a hospital complex or an EDA district office, will provide comparatively large numbers of jobs for these particular counties.

The agricultural sector, which in Appalachia is relatively small and poor to begin with, has been following the familiar rural pattern of decline in total cultivated acreage and in number of farms. In some cases the construction of highways has taken up bottom land which was once used for farming; in other cases strip mining has damaged the land so that it can no longer be used for cultivation. A slight trend toward consolidation is indicated by the higher rates of decline in number of farms (-49%) than in acreage (-33%). Still, only two counties (Lawrence, Kentucky, and Jackson, Ohio) utilize over 20% of their land for cultivation, and three not more than 5%.

The farms that remain are about one-third the size of the national average and are relatively inefficient (value per acre at $90 in comparison with national $146). Some of the inefficiency is reportedly due to over-mechanization--farm implements bought for farms that are too small and hilly to use them economically.

Commercial agricultural operations most often deal in timber and tobacco, and recently have begun experiments in truck and orchard farming. Most farmers are part-time farmers and hold non-farm jobs as well. Small garden plots, too small to be recorded as "farms" for the Census, provide a meager food supplement for many families. Very small tobacco allotments and sorghum molasses are the main cash crops for the poor.

## Level of Poverty

With the economic picture as bleak as it is, the large number of people with family incomes under $3,000 is hardly suprising. Between 33 and 64 percent of the population in each county studied was below this "poverty line", as compared with 21 percent for the nation as a whole (1960).

About one-third of these people receive some form of public assistance[1]. Many injured miners draw disability payments. Old Age Assistance and AFDC are the major case burdens. A much larger proportion of the residents use food stamps to supplement their incomes. Many people cannot make use of the Food Stamp program, however, due to transportation or budgeting problems. The size of welfare grants, officially 65-80% of need, is consistently attacked as incapable of providing a nutritious diet. Average payments per person are around $45 per month (including both grant to recipient and vendor payments for medical services). Large families would receive less than this however, because of absolute limits on grants per family. The Emergency Food Programs operated through the CAA have been inundated with requests for help in order to supplement these allotments.

Generally recipients feel that they are entitled to help if the need is there; occasionally some are too proud to take help. With odd jobs in-between employment, and subsistence farming, many Appalachians seem to be able to live on very little.

County residents who have never received assistance often know nothing about it and act with suspicion or hostility. Relief for disability or old age--obvious handicaps--is considered more "respectable" than aid to families with many children. There is a common feeling that "handouts" such as welfare sap people's incentive to work, especially in respect to young people who are on the rolls. These feelings were found to be especially strong in Jackson, Ohio, where the community looks down upon a smaller proportion of poor people (as compared with other counties where practically everyone is poor) and resents those who have come from Kentucky and West Virginia supposedly for the higher welfare payments across the line.[2] Most community officials who were interviewed recognized the difficulty of breaking a cycle of dependency, particularly with the scarcity of jobs. One or two counties were considering innovative eligibility and job incentive schemes. Welfare rights activity is generally notable in Appalachia for its absence.

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[1] County and City Data Book, 1960 Census data.

[2] This supposition that welfare recipients are moving for higher payments was at the same time contradicted by mention of the fact that people on welfare were more afraid to risk what support they had, and therefore were less likely to move.

Economic statistics can do little to convey a sense of what it actually is like to live in the Appalachias. The decline in mining has left behind it more than high unemployment. Due to past exploitation of the land, a breath-takingly beautiful region is plagued by mine fires which pollute the air, drinking water which contains the sulphur and other drainage elements of the mines, severe erosion of the hills which have been left bare by expedient methods of mineral extraction.

The "quality of life" of a particular people is affected both by the environment and by the availability of services provided by public and private sources. The picture of services in rural Appalachia is harsh--high illiteracy rates, severe health problems, inadequate water and sewage systems, an isolation of people which makes it extremely difficult to mobilize their energies in an attack on these problems. The widespread scattering of people over rugged terrain has always created the greatest difficulties in the provision of services. With the drop in the economic base and the out-migration of many of the more productive elements of the population, the local revenue and leadership available in rural Appalachia for the alleviation of its problems is spread even thinner. Median local government expenditure per capita for the eight counties under study was $81 in 1962, less than half the $177 average for the country.

## Political Structure

Much of what can be done to alleviate the problems of the rural area depends upon the power and priorities of the county political structures. Politics in Appalachia is very salient -- indeed it approaches being a way of life. The question of who has the power, and who has the power behind the power, is critical to the whole community. The source of jobs is the source of power. An election is not concerned with issues so much as it is with who gets the jobs. People interviewed in the survey said that to get jobs requires that you "know someone", that you have been politically loyal, or both. The most sought after favors are jobs in the school system or on the construction crews. In several counties visited the superintendent of schools was acknowledged to be the most powerful individual there. (In Mingo, the superintendent of schools and the board of education together control 83% of the county tax revenue.) Often this post has been held by the same man for over 20 years. The power structure tends to be elderly, tight-knit, and conservative. The leadership of the community, in business, the churches, and the educational system are often one and the same. It is very hard to "buck the system" and few ever try.

In some cases activities of the Community Action Program have been interpreted as a direct challenge to the establishment and its political hold. Community Action Agencies work with the poor, teaching people to attend public meetings, to question welfare rulings, to challenge voting results. Traditionally the poor have been isolated and very resistant to organization. In the smaller counties, or where the low-income groups make up a bulk of the population, the relationship between the "power structure" and the "poor" can be close and personal. Voting patterns are habitual, the ballot cast for the same familiar faces year after year, no matter what their performance. In some cases, the poor themselves have forced community organizers out of the county.

The most effective pressure group has been the young business leaders where they exist. In several counties they have been trying to convince their elders to seek Federal monies, and actively recruit industry. The introduction of industry has worked in a number of areas to open the political and social climate somewhat. The old guard of leading families, who may themselves own small businesses which would have to compete with new industries, naturally do not see the shift of power as desirable, but they are coming more to realize the necessity of economic development. Everyone uses the rhetoric at least. Promotional literature is usually drawn up citing the quality of the labor force; money may be raised as an industrial incentive. But these efforts are relatively small in the competitive world of industrial recruitment. One senses that the enormity and complexity of the task seems to have overwhelmed even the younger, more aggressive members of the county's business community.

Some counties are so deficient in infrastructure that there will be no business growth at all unless basic problems such as sewage systems and roads are solved. Some communities do have the basic services and manage to raise the capital, but then fall into the trap of committing all of their resources to an industry which either pulls out in a year, or produces low wages and revenue which does not multiply the community's operating capital at all.

## Service Structure

Education-- The inadequacy of local expenditures for goods and services is reflected in the low quality of education which characterizes the whole Appalachian region. In 1962 the Appalachian Regional Commission reported that per pupil expenditure averaged $337 for the whole area, a figure which was then about 2/3 the national average. In 1964, the average teacher's salary in Appalachia was $4200; the national average was $6200. In 1966, Appalachians taking the general mental test for military service failed at a rate which was 1-1/2 times that of the country as a whole.[1]

The eight counties under study in this survey show the same levels of educational achievement as the entire region. Median grade level reached is 8.1; a median 22 percent of the county populations are functionally illiterate (failing to go beyond the 4th grade).[2] Dropout rates, to some extent skewed by out-migration, range from 35 to 50 percent.

There appears to be considerable disagreement among the county residents as to the quality of the school system. Persons who have spent some time living in other regions of the country tend to be critical of the teaching and facilities. Parents, especially poorer parents, tend to be impressed by the physical improvements of the last few years--the construction of new schools, the excellent bus service, the institution of hot lunches. Interviews conducted during the present study in the rural counties found school officials largely disturbed by the dropout problem. Some desire was expressed for more parental involvement in the education of the children, as the lack of this interest was thought to be the major factor in the dropout syndrome.

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[1] The Appalachian Regional Commission Annual Report, 1968, p. 48.

[2] County and City Data Book, 1967.

There was additional concern, found most frequently at the higher levels of school administration, over the fact that county school systems tend to be geared to the college-bound student, whereas the bulk of the population in fact may not even graduate from high school. More emphasis has been placed on vocational education recently than in the past. Yet a survey carried out in 1968 revealed that "over 60% of the enrollment is now in programs leading to employment in occupations that are expected to provide only 5 percent of the region's jobs in 1975"; and that only 8 percent are being trained for the most relevant trade and industry jobs likely to be found in growing areas.[1] The quality of this training is sometimes questionable as well. One field observer was told that, "young men who receive high marks in vocational education consistently fail in competition with others when they migrate to urban centers looking for work in the fields for which they have been trained."

The consensus overall is that education, particularly occupational training, needs to be expanded and geared more to the realities of life in Appalachia--or else to the higher quality of training expected for work in the urban areas. Low levels of education are one of the greatest obstacles to the economic development of Appalachia. Labor force skills as a consequence, do not exist in sufficient quality and quantity to be able to attract industry to the rural area, and for the person who chooses to migrate, individual success is limited.

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[1] Appalachian Regional Commission, op. cit., p. 50.

Housing-- Of the three areas of the country studied, Appalachia has the poorest housing conditions. The visitor driving through the area sees mostly single family units in evident disrepair--peeling paint, outside toilets, only minimal conveniences such as cold running water and electricity. The "index of home equipment" listed in the 1960 Census shows the 8 counties studied to be 21 percent below the national norm in conveniences. Statistics from 1960 also show that structural conditions are worse. A median 70 percent of all housing is described as deteriorating or dilapidated. This is as compared to a 26 percent national average, or to the 50-55 percent of the Southeast and Southwest streams. A little more than half of the housing is owner occupied, and one of the big problems is the inability of private homeowners to pay for repairs or new construction. Use of Federal housing programs is very limited due to the lack of private capital and public awareness of procedures. One interviewer noted that mobile homes were appearing in the hollows in response to the shortage of adequate housing.

The water and sewage systems provided in the homes in many of the communities are seriously inadequate. Recently, matching funds have been raised in several of the counties to qualify for Federal assistance in sewage and water pollution control projects. The more remote areas will not be affected by these programs, however, and deficient plumbing and drainage will continue to affect the health of the population.

Health--The greatest problems of health care in the Appalachian region relate to the cost and inaccessibility of services; the absence of certain kinds of care, particularly for mental health; the scarcity of medical personnel; and the community reluctance to use services. The construction of new Appalachian Regional Hospitals in some of the counties has made some difference to the surrounding areas. There is an equal need, however, to increase the community's awareness of health problems and decentralize facilities to the more remote parts of the region. Innovative health care delivery is being tried out by the Appalachian Regional Commission, including prefabricated and mobile facilities and traveling medical teams. In some cases, however, new facilities go unused because of the lack of trained personnel. The ratio of physicians to the population is half that of the nation as a whole, and many of these doctors are on the brink of retirement.[1] There are large numbers of people who find health care unavailable because they are too poor to afford it but not poor enough to qualify for medicare. This problem is not, of course, unique to rural areas. Home care and long-term nursing facilities, which should be especially important in light of the disability and elderliness of the rural population, are notably lacking. The number one problem in rural areas--mental retardation and mental illness--remains virtually untouched.

Transportation--The deplorable conditions of roads in the Central Appalachian areas has been the prime cause of inaccessibility of public goods and services. Where roads are paved they are often narrow and circuitous. Many of the "hollers" where people live are reached by dirt roads which become impassable in rain and snow. Interstate highways have historically bypassed large sections of the population because of the terrain and cost of construction. The Appalachian Highway Corridors being built at present are designed to bring these densely populated but isolated portions of the region into contact with major routes to more urbanized areas. This is the heart of the region's development strategy. At the time of completion, commuting for private goods, such as jobs, entertainment, and major purchases should become much more feasible. At the moment only the more affluent can regularly travel more than 30 miles for these things.

Even with good roads, however, one must have a car in order to get around in Appalachia. There is virtually no public transportation. The majority of people have a car, but its reliability is never certain. Used cars are brought into the county from the outside by dealers who conduct a thriving business; there is much private trading of automobile junk and repair services.

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[1] Appalachian Regional Commission, op. cit., p. 56.

The bulk of the population, especially the poor, therefore do most of their spending locally. Food stores within the rural area are reasonable in quality and cost, and the largest town in the county is likely to have one or two chain store shopping markets. (Malnutrition is a problem mainly because of consumer habits and the low level of public assistance grants.) The general merchandise in the small local stores is of less consistent quality and variety than the food stores. "Seconds" in clothing and furniture may be all that is available, and people will travel as far away as 50 miles, if at all possible, for occasional major purchases.

Only the affluent drive regularly to the cities for recreation or cultural activities, unless the rural area in question borders one of the large urban centers (such as Lawrence County and the Ashland-Huntington cities). Most of the rural areas lack any kind of night entertainment except an occasional movie. High school sports are popular as in most rural areas. Other than that, and softball and swimming in the summer, organized recreational activities or facilities hardly exist. "Men hunt and fish and women go to church meetings." The needs of the young of course, are most poorly met. Otherwise, according to one observer, "the general Friday evening pastime is sitting in cars along the main street downtown and watching other residents do the same thing."

## Programs

When residents in the rural area were asked what the county most needed in the way of improvement, they answered uniformly "jobs" and the industry to create jobs. There were differences of opinion as to whether small locally-owned firms were needed first as a kind of transition to the industrial regimen of large factories. Second and third priority choices ranged through a variety of programs from job training to housing; from transportation and food distribution programs to improvement in schools and the tax structure. Public housing and food programs were sought by low-income respondents and community organization staff working with the poor. Transportation was seen as a major need by almost everyone. Improvements in the school system were mentioned by several respondents, but some meant improvements in physical facilities which would make schools more attractive to industries considering location, while others meant improvements in the quality of teaching and curriculum. Criticism of the quality of schools was offered only by educated respondents who had spent a significant amount of time outside the county. The need for recreational facilities was mentioned by the young people.

In all counties there was a variety of special service programs available. Most commonly mentioned in the survey were the Community Action Program, Headstart, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and a training program such as Mainstream or the Concentrated Employment Program. These services were administered by a variety of state, county, and local public and private agencies. Along with the problems of coordination, especially across multi-county areas, were the ever-present factors of politics and political patronage which could compromise program effectiveness. The Community Action Program appears in general to have shown greater commitment and success in reaching the rural poor than other public programs in the eight counties visited, although that success was by no means uniform. In some cases, the more noticeable the success, the more resistance it has engendered in the county power structure.

Appalchians interviewed in the field expressed more desire for economic self-help programs than for government "handout" services. Job training programs such as CEP, WIN, or Operation Mainstream were faced with severe problems of job placement, however, and these programs are often seen either as an impetus to migration or as a paid "holding operation" for those lucky enough to get in. Often there was evidence that programs amounted to little more than a substitute for welfare payments. As in the employment sphere, there was much talk of "inside contacts" being necessary for entry into programs.

In light of the difficulty encountered in attracting new industry and placing trainees, the Community Action Program has tried a different task in several counties--putting its energies into small, cooperative, job-creating ventures, such as lumber marketing, tourist crafts, a fiberglass business, truck farming. Real enthusiasm was generated in the community by these self-help projects. The greatest problem remaining appears to be setting up retailers and marketing the products outside the region.

## Migration

The lack of recreational activities and other so-called "amenities" such as good schools, housing, health and welfare services, is a serious obstacle in attracting industry and professionals of various kinds to settle in the Appalachias. Few of the native Appalachians, however, seem to leave the area willingly, and many find it difficult to stay away. Kindred ties and love for the familiar countryside are very strong. In addition, there is the feeling that the housing, social life, and especially the schools are better in the rural area. Even young families seem to have an antipathy to raising children in the city. The impersonality of work shifts and renting, the sheer density of people, the segregation of the poor close to the black neighborhoods, the problems of inner city schools, are all highly resented. Young people may move for a job, or for a lark, about equally, but most Appalachians who migrate do so primarily under economic stress. That this economic stress is ever present and likely to incite migration for years to come is lamented by officials in the county but not dealt with head-on. Officials indicate that the high school graduate, if he stayed, would have no trouble finding a job--whereas the dropouts are more likely to find work in the city than locally. Yet they feel that it is the better educated who are more likely to move. The relationship between the skills needed by urban employers and the vocational training provided in the rural schools, has not been explicitly recognized by county officials.

Several comments were made in the field about patterns of migration. One often finds, for example, the breadwinner going off to the city for a short time to look for a job, staying with relatives while he's there. His wife might join him once he has found a job or he might work alone for a while to bring his whole family up, commuting home meantime on the weekends. This pattern of "weekend return" was observed from the cities as well as from the rural end of the survey. It was mentioned as well that families would often come back as soon as they had earned enough money in the city to keep them going in the rural area for several months. There was the feeling that one could always go back to the same job in the city if necessary, whenever the money ran out again. Elderly people often chose to go to the city to stay with their children. Older people who mention "health" reasons for moving are probably thinking of the care they can receive in the homes of their children rather than the specific medical advantages of the city. There might be some consciousness on the part of the older people that Social Security or disability payments will be higher in the city when they move to stay with children. Families on AFDC however, tended to be as apprehensive of the higher costs of the city if they were aware of the difference in welfare grants.

During the visit to Cincinnati made as part of this study, an Appalachian migrant, a young man of 22, wrote down some words and asked that they be part of the description of Appalachia. They follow:

> Make yourself comfortable so that you will be in a relaxed position to read and try to understand what a person feels, how a person is affected by life in a city ghetto, and the condemnation of it by every man, woman, child. No one really wants to live in a ghetto, the people that live there want to believe that its just a stopover place till they can find something better but three-quarters of the people that stopover in the ghetto end up staying, for one reason or the other, either for money reasons, transportation reasons or they would just feel out of place anywhere else. . . . The city promises that long searched for pot of gold at the end of the Rainbow--the rainbow being a brightly colored dream which was painted in their minds by the thought of living in poverty until judgment day and the pot of gold of course being a good paying job. They are quickly faced with reality--like the pot of gold--the city is also a form of myth.

## CHAPTER 18: THE SOUTHEAST STREAM

### Black Migration from the Southeast

For decades the black population has been leaving the South at a higher rate than the white population. The black, once primarily an agricultural worker in the South, has been squeezed between declining farm employment and racial and educational barriers to other jobs in the region. Since the Depression there has been a marked tendency for blacks to avoid southern cities as destination points. The major lines of migration have tended to flow in a straight south-north direction. Metropolitan areas of the Northeast, such as New York, Baltimore, and Washington, have drawn most of their black in-migrants from the Atlantic coast states. Metropolitan areas around the Great Lakes, primarily Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, have drawn mainly from the south central states -- Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee. A third and smaller stream has been found to flow from areas further west -- Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma -- to the California cities, Los Angeles in particular.

The pattern of black migration has been changing. The rural areas are losing blacks at increasing rates. Because of the smaller numbers of people left on farms, however, the actual number of migrants arriving in the big cities from the rural areas of the South has been declining since 1950. In terms of numbers, the city-to-city movement of blacks is becoming more important than rural-to-urban migration.[1] Because in-migrants from other metropolitan areas tend to be of substantially higher educational and occupational status than either the rural migrants or the urban native population, the net impact of "in-migration" on the big cities does not have the dampening effect on education and skill levels that it once had. The city, of course, is burdened already with the sheer volume of need for housing, jobs, and other services for its inner city population. The influx of any number of rural migrants may offset the small gains which it has been able to make.

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[1] Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Changing Character of Negro Migration", The American Journal of Sociology (January, 1965), pp. 429-441.

Much attention has been given to the relationship of black migration from the South and the rioting in the ghettoes. Certainly black migrants from rural areas have not fared as well in some respects as other migrant groups such as southern whites or Spanish-Americans. Southern blacks come to northern cities with lower levels of education and work skills, unaccustomed to the mores of industrial life, locked by discrimination and zoning into the worst housing in the city.[1] Compared to their lot in the rural areas, however, black migrants from the South are likely to achieve a considerable gain in their economic well-being.[2] Jobs may be hard to find in the city but they may be impossible to find back home. Discrimination may be as pervasive in the northern ghetto as it is in the South, but its constraints are somewhat less severe. Thus, the Kerner Commission reported that the rioters across the country's urban centers were not recent in-migrants, but primarily second generation residents, or residents of more 10 years -- blacks who had begun to find that their relative position had not improved significantly when compared to the white residents of the city.

The greatest flow of migrants from the South occurred in the late forties and early fifties when the cotton industry underwent mech-

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1. Petersen and Sharp describe the status of the black southern in-migrant relative to the white in-migrant and the resident city dweller in Southern Migrants to Cleveland (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc.)

2. The findings of the present study indicate that black migrants earn less in the city than Appalachian or Spanish-American migrants, yet experience a greater gain, whether in terms of percentages or absolute dollar amounts, from the rural area. This is consistent with Tracor's findings with respect to black migrants from Mississippi, in Daniel Price, A Study of Economic Consequences of Rural to Urban Migration (Austin, Texas: TRACOR, 1969).

anization. The adjustment to the displacement of hundreds of thousands from the cotton fields is now about complete. However, major technological changes in the tobacco industry have barely started to affect the southeast region of the country. In contrast to the trend of the South as a whole, migration from the North Carolina area has been increasing steadily throughout the 1950's.[1] This region may be the next to experience a large wave of black out-migration, or it may adjust to agricultural displacement differently. It was in recognition of the recent migration and the future possibilities of migration from this region that Baltimore, Maryland, and Greensboro, North Carolina were chosen as destination points for the study.

Over half of the black migrants contacted in Baltimore and Greensboro named North Carolina as their rural home. The others came about equally from Virginia and South Carolina. As the table below illustrates, Greensboro, as a regional destination, drew very heavily from areas within the state, and slightly from the state just south. Migration from areas north or from areas more distant to the south was not directed to this regional city.

Table 18.1

Origin Points for Migrants to Baltimore and Greensboro

| States Named as Origin Points | Baltimore Migrants | Greensboro Migrants | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Virginia | 34% | 1% | 18% |
| North Carolina | 40 | 82 | 61 |
| South Carolina | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Georgia | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Alabama | 3 | - | 1 |
| Mississippi | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Florida | 1 | - | - |

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[1] Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disobedience, p. 117.

The Southeast region has not experienced the same levels of out-migration and population decline which mark the Appalachian and Southwest areas of the country. The overall out-migration rate for 1950-1960 in the eight southeastern counties visited stands at 12.8%, as compared to 37.2 and 34.9 for the Appalachians and Southwest respectively. Similarly, this level of net out-migration did not lead to a decline in the total population of the sending counties as it did in the other areas. Furthermore, if we look at more recent data, we find that with one exception the rates of net out-migration have lowered relative to the 1950-1960 decade.

Table 18.2

Net Migration Relative to Total Population Change[1]

| | % Net Migration | | % Total Population Change | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1950-1960 | 1960-1967 | 1950-1960 | 1960-1967 |
| Caldwell, N.C. | -6.9 | 3.0 | 14.3 | 15.4 |
| Chatham, N.C. | -10.5 | -1.9 | 5.5 | 5.6 |
| Edgecombe, N.C. | -17.4 | -9.8 | 5.0 | 0.9 |
| Lenoir, N.C. | -4.6 | -6.5 | 20.3 | 3.5 |
| Orange. N.C. | 4.0 | 14.6 | 24.8 | 26.9 |
| Pitt, N.C. | -14.8 | 0.2 | 9.6 | 9.7 |
| Median | -8.7 | -0.8 | 12.0 | 7.6 |
| N. Carolina | -8.1 | 4.5 | 12.2 | 11.1 |
| Laurens, S.C. | -14.6 | | 20.8 | |
| Prince Edward, Va. | -20.2 | | -8.3 | |

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[1] From Estimates of the Population of North Carolina: 1967 and 1968, directed by C. Horace Hamilton, Carolina Population Center, Chapel Hill, N.C. and Therese H. Ramsey, Statistical Services Center, Budget Division, N.C. Department of Administration, Raleigh, N.C.

A more extreme picture emerges when black migration is separated from the overall pattern in the Southeast. Table 17. 3 below shows that for all but one county, blacks are still leaving the rural area at a much higher rate than whites.[1] Despite the higher birth rate of the black population, the ratio of black to white in these counties (and in North Carolina overall) is slightly and steadily decreasing.[2]

### Table 18. 3

### Net Migration and Population Change: Southeast Stream

| Average annual rates of change per 1000 population 1960-1967: | Net Migration | | | Total Population Change | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Black | White | Total | Black | White | Total |
| Caldwell | 5.4 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 22.7 | 19.5 | 19.8 |
| Chatham | -10.4 | 1.0 | -2.6 | 5.3 | 8.5 | 7.5 |
| Edgecombe | -18.8 | -7.7 | -13.5 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| Lenoir | -21.3 | -1.1 | -8.9 | -4.0 | 10.1 | 4.7 |
| Orange | 8.9 | 20.6 | 17.9 | 26.7 | 34.7 | 32.8 |
| Pitt | -9.3 | 7.4 | 0.3 | 6.7 | 17.3 | 12.8 |
| Median | -9.8 | 2.4 | -1.1 | 6.0 | 13.7 | 10.1 |
| N. Carolina | -9.4 | 4.4 | 0.9 | 8.7 | 16.4 | 14.4 |

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[1] Estimates of the Population of North Carolina Counties. Supplementary Tables 10-S and 12-S, 1969.

[2] For the six North Carolina counties studied, percent black of total population was 35.5 in 1960 and 33.9 in 1967. Figures for the state as a whole were 25.3 and 24.3 respectively. Ibid.

The diversity of the region under study is suggested by the range of figures presented in the table. Caldwell County has, in recent years, attracted more blacks than it has lost. Caldwell is unique in the low percentage of blacks in its population (7%); it is also higher than most North Carolina counties in its employment of blacks in manufacturing. It could, therefore, be expected to offer more attractive work opportunities to blacks than those found in other areas of the state. Orange County is another exception in terms of the high in-migration rate and total population growth recorded for the past two decades. It can be assumed in this case that the growing university-related population at Chapel Hill makes this a non-representative case.

Several characteristics have been noted by researchers in respect to black migration which are consistent with the findings of the present study. Compared with the Appalachian or Spanish-American groups, blacks less often move in family groups and are less likely to maintain close ties to the rural home through visits or return migration. The move is made for economic reasons primarily. It was commonly believed by the rural blacks interviewed that higher wages and better chances for advancement lay in the northern cities, especially for the educated black. It was not uncommon to find a man or a woman in the city who had moved alone to find work, intending to send for the children when enough money had been saved. Unfortunately, many found it hard to save money in the city, even with a better paying job -- rents were higher; there were more things to buy and do. It might take months or years to bring the whole family along. Some migrants reported that they had moved initially with the intention of saving enough to return and set up their own farm or business in the rural area.[1] Many of the migrants interviewed were nostalgic as well for the peace and simplicity of the countryside. A few expressed guilt feelings about the fact that they were escaping rather than working to improve conditions back home. Very few saw the possibility of returning, however, as long as the jobs were in the city. In addition, experiences in the city with free health services, financial assistance, and the greater degree of racial freedom, acted to discourage return although they had not appeared strongly as a reason for migration in the first place. A substantial number of younger migrants talked about the excitement and social life of a big city and indicated that this was the primary reason they had for moving.

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[1] Peterson and Sharp found that from 1/3 to 1/2 of the black migrants to Cleveland had not intended to make it their permanent home when they migrated. (Working Paper #2, p. 15)

## The Rural Environment

The majority of the migrants in the study had moved from rural areas of North Carolina, and, to a lesser degree, from Virginia and South Carolina. This is not a homogeneous region. There is rich tobacco land to the north and cotton to the south; tidewater flats along the coast, agricultural plains in the eastern region, and mountains to the west. The black population is concentrated in the eastern agricultural region, where it makes up around one-third to one-half of the population; in the mountains, blacks total fewer than 10 percent.

The southeast region is known as one of the fastest growing industrial areas of the country. The mountainous terrain which so hampers industrial development and mobility in the Appalachians and the Southwest is confined to the far western part of the Carolinas. In contrast to these other regions, where cities are few and far between, the effects of urbanization are more evenly spread throughout the southeastern states. The population is beginning to cluster in many small and large urban centers. The density of the population in the eight counties studied was 80 percent higher in 1960 than the national average and was increasing steadily. Surprisingly, it is the agricultural counties in the central plains region which show this pattern most strongly. According to the Census definition of "urban places", which records those areas of 2500 or more inhabitants, Edgecombe, Pitt, and Lenoir climbed to a 40 percent urbanization level in 1960. The average for the country at this time was 29 percent. The cities in this area -- Greenville, Rocky Mount, Wilson -- are small, around 30,000 in population, but they have been attracting new industries and growing rapidly despite the high out-migration rates from the rural areas of the counties. Larger cities of around 100,000 population, such as the Winston-Salem, Greensboro, High Point triangle, have been competing with the northern cities for rural in-migrants.

## Economic Base

The economy of southern Virginia and the Carolinas has traditionally depended upon the processing of tobacco, and to a lesser extent, cotton. Following national trends, the number of tobacco and cotton farms has decreased in recent decades. To a large extent, as smaller farms have folded, they have been bought and consolidated as part of more mechanized operations, and overall productivity has risen with this trend. In the three North Carolina coastal plain counties visited, the average size of farms increased about 30 percent between 1958 and 1963, at the same time that total number declined by 25 percent. In one of these counties, this rate of decline meant the loss of 200 farms every year. It is the smallest farmer, the farmer who cannot keep up with adverse markets, modernization trends, and the reduction of government crop allotments who has been squeezed the hardest. Federal programs which exist to help the small farmer in crop production and cultivation methods have not shown much impact in this area, especially in regard to the black farmer. Where farmers have managed to make more profitable use of their land, livestock and soybean production have grown rapidly in value.

Unfortunately, as the share of agriculture in the economy has declined, so have the labor requirements for the remaining farm units. Machines are used increasingly on the tobacco and cotton farms to weed, harvest, and process the crop. Soybean cultivation has been so highly mechanized that, with a ten-fold increase in total value in recent years, no new jobs have been created. Since the reduction of labor is happening everywhere, sharecroppers and agricultural laborers who are thrown out of work cannot just move on to the next farm.

Neither has growth in the manufacturing sector managed to compensate for agricultural displacement. The number of jobs created in non-farm employment is about half of those lost through agricultural displacement -- at the same time that demand for those jobs is increasing through young people entering the labor force and people desiring to supplement inadequate farm incomes with off-farm work (as well as people seeking to shift from farm to non-farm occupation completely).

Since the early 1960's, unemployment for all counties has gone down and median income has risen. Still, in those agricultural counties visited, figures for 1967 as well as 1960 show unemployment to be twice as high as in the more industrialized counties to the west (5.0 compared with 2.7 percent in 1967); despite the fact that net out-migration from the agricultural counties in this period was three times as high (-4.8 compared with -1.5 percent).[1]

Unemployment rates rise more sharply in the winter due to the seasonality of tobacco and construction work. Black unemployment runs at least twice that of whites.[2] Black female unemployment runs about twice that of black males in the rural area. As an example, figures of Pitt County in March, 1960 are shown in Table 18.4.[3]

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1. Profile, North Carolina Counties, Statistical Services Center, Budget Division, North Carolina State Department of Administration, December, 1968.

2. North Carolina Fund, North Carolina's Present and Future Poor, 1966, p. 53.

3. Population and Economy of Greenville, N. C., a report prepared for the Division of Community Planning, City of Greenville, by the City Planning and Zoning Board and State Department of Conservation and Development, 1965, p. 32.

Table 18.4

Percentage Unemployment

| | Black | | White | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Pitt County | 11.3 | 20.9 | 2.2 | 4.2 |
| Greenville | 20.7 | 23.8 | 2.4 | 4.6 |

Females are handicapped in the rural area in not being able to get paying work around the farm. Black females are more likely to be looking for work than are white females. In the cities and towns, black women can find work as domestics. On the other hand, black men in the cities are unable to fall back on seasonal agriculture and therefore become "unemployed" rather than "underemployed".

Overall, the southeast area has experienced a rapid rate of industrial growth. In the eight counties studied, the value added to products by manufacturing rose by 56 percent in the period from 1958 to 1963. This compares to a 35 percent increase nationally. Employment has increased at even a higher rate. Ignoring problems of race and education, the base for local employment of the potential migrant is strongest in the Southeast. For the black population under study, however, skill and racial barriers are very real. Traditionally the best jobs have gone to whites, as long as sufficient white labor has been available. The region has experienced high movement of whites from farm to non-farm areas, occupationally and geographically. A surprisingly high proportion of the new industrial jobs have gone to white females, newly entering the labor force.[1] In contrast, blacks, who are likely to be the first displaced from agriculture, are the last to be employed in trade and industry jobs off the farm. Thus, blacks migrate out of the region or remain in agriculture more frequently than do whites.

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[1] North Carolina Fund, The State We're In, A Candid Appraisal of Manpower and Economic Development in North Carolina (Durham, N. C: June 1967), p. 33.

Where industry has continued to expand and out-migration has continued to remove a portion of the surplus labor, this employment pattern has been increasingly broken. In Chatham County, for example, where overall employment in manufacturing is at a high level, 40 percent of both the white and black labor force are employed in that sector. In Edgecombe, Lenoir, or Pitt, where industrial activity is about half the level of Chatham, black employment in manufacturing is hardly more than half the rate for whites.

The type of industrial employment which is found in the Carolinas is most commonly in low skill operations -- especially in textile and apparel factories -- where conditions are likely to be bad and wages low. The greatest increase in manufacturing jobs in North Carolina is occurring in these industries, and North Carolina now has the lowest average hourly wage rates for production workers in manufacturing in the country.[1] Therefore, black employment in non-agricultural jobs is rising, and the discrepancy between black and white incomes is closing somewhat in the more industrialized areas. But at minimal wage levels, the gap will close very slowly. Whites are still found disproportionately in the better jobs -- white collar work, professional and management positions. For the South as a whole in 1960 the proportion of blacks in manufacturing was 14 percent compared to 23 for whites; whereas in white collar work the proportions were 9 and 44 percent respectively. The picture for blacks in the South Atlantic states has been better, traditionally, than the South Central states, but only slightly. Where barriers in hiring practices are broken down, discrimination in training opportunities and advancement are still pervasive.

For the poor agricultural worker, then, lower levels of education, work skills, and health conditions may block his employment in industrial jobs as much as color. For the increasing numbers of blacks graduating from high school and college, however, there is little doubt that local and regional job markets are avoided because of perceived discrimination in advancement on the job, in housing and other services and in credit markets.

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[1] Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, States and Areas: 1939-1968, Bulletin No. 1370-6 (Washington, D. C., 1969).

## Levels of Poverty

Given the historical plight of blacks in the South and the constraints on their participation in recent economic growth, it is not surprising to find their economic rewards and standard of living to be much worse than for the white population. The agricultural counties are the poorest, and this is where most of the blacks live. In the three counties visited -- Edgecombe, Pitt, and Lenoir -- from 77 to 84 percent of the black families in 1960 lived on less than $3000 a year. This is in contrast to an overall 50 percent when black and white figures are combined.

Tenant farming and the employment of blacks in agriculture is by far the most extensive in this area. In the three counties mentioned, 65 percent of all farm operators were tenants, compared with 15 percent in the three counties visited to the west (Chatham, Orange, and Caldwell). In Pitt County in 1960, 88% of the tenant farmers were black. Agricultural laborers derive notoriously little income from their very low wages. Agricultural work is excluded from most of the farm labor laws and wages can still, in the surplus labor situation, be determined by the "boss". Migrants interviewed in the cities reported working long hours in the rural area for a few dollars a day. Child labor laws are frequently overlooked as the family tries to earn a little more.

A second major problem in agricultural work is that it is seasonal and unsteady. Interviewers in the cities reported strong migrant preferences for steady work over "making a lot sometimes; and next to nothing otherwise." Most farm operators try to supplement their income with non-agricultural work -- odd jobs, factory work in the winter. Here the black family is handicapped by discrimination in the local area and by the general difficulty which women in the rural area have in finding work. This leaves the farm family and the female-headed family in an extremely precarious situation. A family reported that during the winter months they may find themselves with nothing to eat but cornbread and water. Most families try to supplement their earnings with some vegetables from a small garden, but technical assistance in this type of small-scale agriculture has usually been lacking. Often even this may be impossible because the landowner requires the tenants to grow cotton and tobacco virtually up to the front door of their homes. Poverty has in many cases been exacerbated by landowners who have exploited their tenants with outrageous prices at the stores where they must buy, or outrageous rents on the shacks where they must live.

At the same time, welfare assistance is provided to a relatively small portion of the population. In Edgecombe, for instance, where in 1960 82% of the black population and 51% of the population overall lived under the "poverty line", only 2.9 percent of the population received public assistance.[1] In Prince Edward, Virginia where 79% of the blacks and 50% of the total population were making less than $3000, public assistance participation was as low as 1.5. Interviews with welfare personnel in the eight counties indicate that few are enthusiastic about publicizing the program to those who might be eligible. There are universal complaints about the size of grants and about the "policing" of recipients by welfare staff.

## Political Structure and Discrimination

As yet the discrimination against blacks in the rural areas has led to little organized action to affect the balance of power. Virtually all groups in rural areas are traditionally more conservative in political matters than those in urban areas. Of the scattered instances of activity noted by field operatives, most consisted of sermonizing from the pulpit or applying pressure to fill a public appointment with a black.

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[1] County and City Data Book.

In the southern cities visited, blacks were more likely to protest more actively. Voter registration drives were being conducted in two counties; stores were being boycotted, apparently with little success, in one case. Some attempts have been made to elect a black man to office. In Chapel Hill, with the support of the university liberals, a black was elected mayor. In general, university populations such as those in Pitt and Orange counties appear to lead to a political environment in which significant action by blacks is possible. More often the pattern has been for black candidates to split the liberal vote and allow the better unified segregationst forces to win.

In no county visited were blacks effectively organized. In no county did blacks hold power at the sheriff or county commissioner level. In one area fear of the Ku Klux Klan appeared to hinder interviews with residents. The Carolinas do have a history of greater flexibility in racial matters than does the South Central area. North Carolina in particular has had the advantage of liberal leadership on the state level. It is wrong to assume from the general lack of political activity and the traditionally greater tolerance that black people are content with the situation, however. As we have seen in earlier chapters, reactions of the black sample group on the subject of discrimination were consistently strong.

## Service and Program Structure

Job training and the reduction of discrimination were most frequently mentioned when residents were asked what they felt most needed improvement in the rural areas. In some cases public transportation to outlying industries and day care services were felt to be serious needs. Health, education, and housing were less frequently spontaneously cited for improvement, although problems in these areas continue to handicap the black.

Inadequate education is presented as a prime obstacle in the economic development of the rural area. In agricultural areas, especially, children are likely to skip school and drop out at an early age to work on the farm. For the eight counties under study median educational achievement in 1960 reached a level of 8.2 years, which is similar to the other rural areas visited but compares unfavorably to the national norm of 10.6 years. Educational levels for the black population average about two years less according to the 1960 Census.

Most counties in the region studied operate a segregated school system. Officials in all counties claimed expenditures to be equal for the separate institutions. Among the black residents, there is less feeling of a discrepancy in the quality of the facilities than in the quality of the teaching staffs. Black teachers occasionally remarked that with the lower level of instruction they had themselves received, they felt at a disadvantage in teaching other black youngsters. Some people interviewed maintained that the integration of teachers included in state desegregation plans will actually worsen this situation, by transferring the best black teachers to the white schools and the worst white teachers to the black schools. In one of the two counties where integration had taken place, the black high school had been converted to an elementary school and blacks were being bussed to the white high school. Although this system tends to put the inconvenience upon the black youngster, it is likely to be the standard for future desegration in the region. Prince Edward, Virginia, is of course still recovering from a five-year shutdown of all schools in resistance to desegregation plans. Schools are now technically integrated, but very few whites attend.

Black youth are graduating from high school in increasing numbers. In general, the states have shown considerable interest in vocational preparation of the student. Welding, auto mechanics, masonry, typing, nursing, cosmetology were mentioned as course offerings. The county Technical Institutes, which were set up by the Carolinas in recognition of the needs of industry, tend to be quite good and to train a large number of blacks. Since employment opportunities have not opened to blacks with equal rapidity, however, it is reported that many educated and trained black youth are leaving for northern cities.

In contrast to the quality of schools, housing conditions were almost unanimously criticized by black people contacted through the survey. Complaints centered around the lack of heating and plumbing in substandard wooden shacks; the lack of money for improvements and repair; and the overall shortage of housing units.

County-wide statistics show that over half of the homes in the eight counties were either deteriorating or dilapidated. These aggregate statistics hide the fact that substandard living conditions affect blacks much more severely than whites. A survey conducted on 11,000 households in urban and rural parts of North Carolina in 1965 revealed that 25 percent of the black homes and 15 percent of the white homes were without means of sewage disposal.[1] Data for Pitt County show that 71 percent of black homes and 40 percent of white homes were unsound.

Conditions in the growing slums of the small towns and cities in these counties are even worse than in the countryside. A social worker in Orange County estimated that 80 percent of the black homes around Hillsboro did not have running water or adequate sewage disposal. This observation has been supported by recent studies.[2]

Home ownership is less prevalent in the rural Southeast than in the rural Southwest or Appalachia. The 1965 North Carolina survey indicated that about 25 percent of the blacks and 50 percent of the whites owned their own homes. Interviews conducted by the present study suggested more desire for construction of public housing and rent subsidies than for home ownership loans. A number of counties had constructed public housing units, although they had not come close to meeting the need. Where low income housing is available, those families who do

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1. North Carolina Fund, op. cit., p. 68.
2. Population and Economy of Greenville, N.C., p. 16.

not fall under the poverty line, and who are therefore not eligible, soon occupy those dilapidated homes vacated by the lower income residents. Concern with the scarcity of adequate housing seems to outweigh any perception of discrimination in housing. Both rural and urban areas need emergency housing facilities for families whose homes have suffered fire or other accidents.

The Southeast is slightly more fortunate than the rural areas of Appalachia or the Southwest in the number of health care facilities scattered throughout the towns of the region and the greater ease of transportation to these facilities. Racial discrimination limits accessibility, however. The public hospitals will serve black patients, but the emergency wards are crowded and the costs are steep. Few people have medical insurance or public assistance subsidies for medical care. For a low income family, illness is likely to be a major financial disaster. Furthermore, without access to a private vehicle, transportation to facilities in town can be a serious problem. Finally, many rural residents suffer health problems because they are unaware of the availability or usefulness of preventative services such as nutrition, sanitation, health education and family planning.

Overall, the people are not strongly critical of health services. Citations of malnutrition, infant mortality, and disability are much more common than complaints about the medical care. One family interviewed in Baltimore had never been to a free clinic until their move to the city. The only way they had ever seen a doctor while living on the farm was to call the white owner and have him send for one. If he did not see the need, they could not get help. For years the mother had tried to find out something about birth control with no success. At the time of interview, three of her fourteen children were suffering thyroid inflammations and anemia brought on by malnutrition. The North Carolina survey conducted in 1965 found blacks to be just as favorable about their "good health" as whites, at the same time that more blacks were unemployed because of poor health and disability.[1]

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[1] North Carolina Fund, op. cit., p. 55.

The rural resident of the Southeast is in a relatively good position when it comes to purchase of consumer goods and services. The quality and prices of food stores are reasonable; chain stores exist in the towns. For a greater variety of clothing and durables, it is not far to a town of adequate size. Recreation facilities are very limited, however, and the young tend to be very attracted to the idea of moving for the entertainment and social life of the big city.

As mentioned above, the most successful service programs have been the training institutes set up by the state. Community Action Programs are operating in many areas as well, providing a variety of social services. Emergency Food and Medical Assistance, Headstart, Neighborhood Youth Corps, or Daycare were mentioned in one or another county and were looked upon with favor by the poor, but the need to get more programs funded and to have more staff to reach the population was a dominant theme. Little thinking was evident along the lines of local black business or self-help cooperatives. The poverty programs reported great difficulty in getting local funds in some instances. Overall the programs presented a familiar picture of effectiveness where local black leadership was dynamic and ineffectiveness where it was not.

# PART V:

# TECHNICAL BACKGROUND

## CHAPTER 19: DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The demographic factors with which we will be concerned in this chapter are population group, age, sex, marital status, education and income. These variables are the most useful for relating the findings of this study with those of other projects, since they are the most certain to have the same meaning in different contexts. From the point of view of policy formulation, these are the variables that will be most useful in identifying the people--the "target populations"--to whom policy will be directed. The discussion will focus especially on the distinctions between persons in the urban (migrant) and rural (non-migrant) samples, and between persons in the different regional-ethnic sample groups.

The two key variables on which the sampling design was stratified were regional-ethnic population group and rural/urban residence. The three regional-ethnic groups sampled were Southeastern blacks, Appalachian whites and Southwestern Spanish-Americans. Representing the rural-to-urban migration stream of each of these three groups were persons interviewed in two cities and eight counties. Approximately 150 interviews were conducted in each city. Approximately 36 interviews were conducted in each county. (Sampling and interviewing procedures are described in Chapter 20.) A final total of 1838 valid responses were obtained, distributed as shown in Table 19.1.

Table 19.1

Size and Location of Sample

| Southeast Stream | | Appalachian Stream | | Southwest Stream | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Location | Interviews | Location | Interviews | Location | Interviews |
| Baltimore | 149 | Columbus | 172 | Denver | 143 |
| Greensboro | 145 | Cincinnati | 149 | Albuquerque | 167 |
| Total Urban | 294 | Total Urban | 321 | Total Urban | 310 |
| Total Rural | 295 | Total Rural | 315 | Total Rural | 303 |

p. 338 blank

## Age

One of the most striking differences between the demographic structure of the urban and the rural samples is that of age. Table 19.2 illustrates these differences for the three streams. The age variable used for the urban group in this table is the age at the time the individual made his first rural-to-urban move. (The age at the time of the interview would average about three years older, not enough to change drastically the comparison between rural and urban ages.) For most purposes in this report (unless otherwise stated), it is the age in the rural area that is cited, since we are most frequently interested in comparing the pre-migration situation of the migrants with the current situation of the rural residents.

Table 19.2

Age

| Age | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| 16-20 | 34.2 | 15.5 | 40.4 | 6.1 | 30.8 | 5.7 |
| 21-25 | 27.2 | 17.2 | 23.0 | 13.1 | 25.0 | 8.4 |
| 26-39 | 23.9 | 39.1 | 22.3 | 34.8 | 30.8 | 30.0 |
| 40 or more | 14.7 | 28.2 | 14.3 | 46.0 | 13.5 | 55.9 |

The disparity in age structures between rural and urban samples reflects above all the fact that the younger age groups are those participating most heavily in the rural-to-urban migration process. In fact, the figures in Table 19.2 probably understate the actual disparity, because field procedures were adjusted to keep the rural sample from being entirely dominated by the oldest age groups. In addition to the general youth of migrants, however, the sample structure also reflects the fact that the rate of poverty among young people remaining in the rural area is less than for older people. Apparently young people faced with poverty are more likely to leave than other groups. Rural interviewers were instructed to conduct interviews only at households that were "poor" by the standards of the local area. Almost all teams reported the difficulty of finding people who were both young and poor. Some difference among regional streams is also visible in Table 19.2, but these differences are smaller and it is less clear that they reflect general population differences.

## Sex

The male/female proportions of the various sample groups are primarily indicative of the degree of difficulty encountered by interviewers in finding males. Table 19.3 shows the sex breakdown in the primary sample groups. Because a household sampling procedure was employed, an automatic bias in the direction of over-representation of housewives was expected. Some measures were taken to compensate for this bias, so the resultant proportions can not be taken as reflecting true proportions for the population. The male/female ratio did not vary significantly within different age categories of the three stream samples.

Table 19. 3

Sex

| Sex | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| Male | 42. 5 | 39. 7 | 38. 5 | 58. 6 | 45. 9 | 56. 2 |
| Female | 57. 5 | 60. 3 | 61. 5 | 41. 4 | 54. 1 | 43. 8 |

In a number of the problems investigated in this study it was desirable either to focus upon the person who was the principal financial support of the family or to separate out the person who might reasonably be considered the principal decision-maker in a migration decision. The standard technique for this situation is either to use maleness as a proxy for performance of those functions or to use a "head of household" indicator. Because of the peculiar nature of the migration process, which can often involve the break-up of the family unit in the rural area and the formation of a new unit in the urban area, neither of these standard usages was believed adequate for a study of this type.

In an attempt to adjust for individuals who do not fit the standard model, variables called "breadwinner" and "decisionmaker" were created. A person was defined as a "breadwinner" if he or she was the chief provider of income for the living unit. If it was not immediately clear whether this was the case, men and unmarried women were considered to be breadwinners unless they specified that someone else (in the rural family unit) earned most of the money. Married women were assumed to be non-breadwinners unless they were the only family member earning money. All persons who were breadwinners in the rural area were defined as decisionmakers in the migration move. In addition, any non-breadwinner who moved alone to the city, and who neither joined nor was later joined by family members, was defined as a decisionmaker. These two variables are used primarily in those sections of the report dealing with participation in the labor market.

## Marital Status

The urban samples contained more people who were single (before migrating) than the rural sample. Table 19.4 shows the marital status breakdown for four age groups. In all groups except the Southeastern blacks less than 26 years old, there is a markedly higher proportion of single persons in the urban than the rural group. The percentage of singles declines with age, as would be expected, and the size of the "separated, divorced or widowed" category increases. Males are more often single than females in all urban sample groups; among the rural groups the rates

### Table 19.4

### Marital Status (Pre-Migration) by Age

| | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| 16-20 years old | | | | | | |
| single | 76.0 | 91.3 | 70.6 | 57.9 | 65.5 | 47.1 |
| married | 22.9 | 8.7 | 28.6 | 42.1 | 33.3 | 52.9 |
| separated, divorced, widowed | 1.0 | - | 0.8 | - | 1.1 | - |
| 21-25 years old | | | | | | |
| single | 42.7 | 48.0 | 44.9 | 31.7 | 40.3 | 20.0 |
| married | 54.7 | 46.0 | 52.2 | 63.4 | 55.2 | 68.0 |
| separated, divorced, widowed | 2.6 | 6.0 | 2.9 | 4.8 | 4.5 | 12.0 |
| 26-39 years old | | | | | | |
| single | 20.3 | 11.4 | 19.7 | 5.5 | 22.2 | 7.9 |
| married | 69.6 | 69.3 | 69.7 | 88.2 | 70.4 | 82.0 |
| separated, divorced, widowed | 10.1 | 19.3 | 10.6 | 6.3 | 7.5 | 10.1 |
| 40 and over | | | | | | |
| single | 11.9 | 3.6 | 12.2 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 3.6 |
| married | 64.3 | 64.3 | 58.5 | 80.6 | 80.0 | 84.9 |
| separated, divorced, widowed | 23.9 | 32.4 | 29.2 | 16.7 | 17.2 | 11.4 |
| All | | | | | | |
| single | 44.0 | 27.9 | 45.1 | 10.8 | 38.1 | 8.8 |
| married | 48.9 | 54.4 | 47.5 | 78.7 | 55.9 | 80.8 |
| separated, divorced, widowed | 7.1 | 17.7 | 7.4 | 8.6 | 6.0 | 10.4 |

are approximately equal, except that the Southeastern rural sample contains more single males than females.[1]

When the comparison is made between marital status at time of interview (i.e., after migration, for the urban group), the urban and rural groups become quite similar. This combination of patterns reflects both the relative difficulty of moving for a family group and the tendency of migration to act as an access mechanism in courtship. (These concepts are discussed in Chapter 12. Table 19.5 shows marital status at time of interview. Note that the Southeastern group has a higher single rate, a trend which holds in general for age-sex subgroupings.

Table 19.5

Marital Status at Interview

| Marital Status | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| single | 27.7 | 27.9 | 11.6 | 10.8 | 11.5 | 8.8 |
| married | 56.4 | 54.4 | 74.4 | 78.7 | 74.3 | 80.8 |
| separated, divorced, widowed | 15.9 | 17.7 | 14.0 | 8.6 | 14.1 | 10.4 |

## Education

The non-migrant (rural) sample was found to be better educated than the migrant sample. This relationship holds for all age and sex subgroupings within the sample. This characteristic conflicts with samples used in some other studies, the conflict being caused by differences in sampling designs. The design of this study specifically focused on those rural-to-urban migrants who could be expected to be less successful, that is, those who were at the time of the interview residing in low-income neighborhoods. Insofar as education is a correlate of success in the urban area, therefore, it is to be expected that the migrants interviewed in this study would have less education.[1] Table 19.7, indicating educational attainment by age group, shows higher non-migrant than migrant education for sub-groups, although on an aggregated basis the age discrepancy between the groups makes the migrant sample appear to be better educated.

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[1] The proportion of married persons in the rural Southeast group is almost identical for males and females, the high male single rate being offset by a high female "separated" rate. This could be simply different reporting of the same situation by the male and female, in which case marital rates would be approximately equivalent for males and females in all sample groups.

Table 19.6

Education

| Education | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| 8 years or less | 33.1 | 40.3 | 48.4 | 59.1 | 43.2 | 50.3 |
| 9 - 11 years | 31.3 | 26.4 | 29.4 | 22.4 | 29.5 | 18.1 |
| 12 years or more | 35.6 | 33.3 | 22.2 | 18.5 | 27.4 | 31.5 |

Apart from the rural-urban comparison, the expected relationships between education and other demographic variables hold true. Younger persons are better educated than older persons in all sample groups. Better educated persons have higher incomes. Males are better educated than females in the Appalachian, Southwestern and rural Southeastern samples; in the Southeastern urban sample, males and females report almost

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1. There is also reason to suspect that other studies may be biased in precisely the opposite direction. Some rely on Census data, which is known to be biased by under-reporting of low-income persons. Others (e.g., Daniel Price, A Study of the Economic Consequences of Rural to Urban Migration .Austin, Texas: TRACOR, 1969), use a tracing method, in which the migrant's continuing contact with a rural area is the key to his inclusion in the sample. It could be expected that the less successful migrants, and especially the less educated ones, would be least likely to have such a continuing contact. The implications of this and alternative sample designs are discussed in Chapter XX.

## Table 19. 7

## Education by Age

| Age | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education %completing: | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural |
| 16-21 years old | | | | | | |
| 8 years or less | 19.6 | 6.7 | 30.5 | 21.1 | 23.0 | — |
| 9-11 years | 28.3 | 26.0 | 35.6 | 31.6 | 33.3 | 11.8 |
| 12 or more years | 52.2 | 57.8 | 33.9 | 47.4 | 43.7 | 88.2 |
| 21-25 | | | | | | |
| 8 | 26.7 | 18.0 | 40.6 | 31.7 | 28.8 | 8.0 |
| 9-11 | 33.3 | 26.0 | 40.6 | 31.7 | 37.9 | 32.0 |
| 12 | 40.0 | 56.0 | 18.8 | 36.6 | 33.3 | 60.0 |
| 26-39 | | | | | | |
| 8 | 42.6 | 38.1 | 70.8 | 47.3 | 50.0 | 36.0 |
| 9-11 | 36.8 | 35.4 | 20.0 | 28.2 | 35.0 | 21.3 |
| 12 | 20.6 | 26.5 | 9.2 | 24.5 | 15.0 | 42.7 |
| 40 or over | | | | | | |
| 8 | 73.8 | 76.5 | 68.3 | 81.1 | 85.7 | 70.1 |
| 9-11 | 14.5 | 7.4 | 14.6 | 13.3 | 8.6 | 15.0 |
| 12 | 11.9 | 16.0 | 17.1 | 5.6 | 5.7 | 15.0 |

identical educational attainment. The blacks tended to be best educated and the Appalachian whites least, although that distinction existed mainly in the younger age groups.

## Income

Members of the urban sample reported a lower pre-migration income level than that of the current rural residents. Table 19.8 allows a comparison of rural income to urban pre-migration income. The lower income of migrants holds for all age, sex and educational sub-groupings. As in the case of education, this pattern conflicts with that observed in some other studies.[1] The same design differences which explain the disparity in educational level apply to the income comparison. Those interviewed in the urban areas in this study were residing in low-income neighborhoods; insofar as migrants with low pre-migration incomes are more likely to reside in such neighborhoods, this study is weighted in that direction. Similarly, insofar as other designs tend to under-represent residents of such areas, their expected bias is in the opposite direction.

As noted elsewhere, the data on both income and education should be used with caution in any description of migration behavior. In both urban and rural areas, there was a deliberate attempt to sample the "poor" among the population, and not the total population. The data suggest that, among the poor, those of lower income and less education migrate more frequently than those of higher income and greater education. But this statement cannot be made with statistical assurance, for there is no way of knowing that the selection of the "poor" operated in the same way in both rural and urban areas. It is not possible to make any statement at all about whether the poor migrate more or less frequently than the non-poor. Throughout the analyses presented in this report, we have used income and education as control variables rather than independent variables from which causation could be inferred.

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[1] The Price study, which is closest to this project in terms of population groups sampled, found that the median income for Mexican-Americans and black migrant groups was higher than that of the non-migrants, while Anglo migrants' pre-migration income was slightly lower than the non-migrant group.

The migrants' current family income was found to be substantially higher than that of the rural residents, as shown in Table 19.9. Again, the pattern is consistent across all demographic sub-groups. This finding is similar to those of most other studies, reflecting both a substantial gain in family income and relative success of migrants compared with rural non-migrants.

Table 19.8

Family Income

(Pre-migration for urban sample)

| Income | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| less than $3000 | 61.3 | 37.8 | 55.5 | 46.8 | 52.0 | 47.3 |
| $3000 to $5000 | 24.6 | 43.7 | 29.9 | 32.6 | 38.1 | 29.9 |
| over $5000 | 15.7 | 18.5 | 14.6 | 20.6 | 9.9 | 22.7 |

Table 19.9

Family Income

(Post-migration for urban sample)

| Income | Southeast Sample | | Appalachian Sample | | Southwest Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % | Urban % | Rural % |
| less than $3000 | 16.5 | 37.8 | 19.7 | 46.8 | 23.8 | 47.4 |
| $3000 to $5000 | 53.5 | 43.7 | 39.0 | 32.6 | 48.3 | 29.9 |
| over $5000 | 30.0 | 18.5 | 41.3 | 20.6 | 27.9 | 22.7 |

Comparing rural income across population groups (Table 19.8), we note a general similarity between Appalachian and Spanish-American groups, with the blacks providing relatively minor exceptions. The urban Southeast sample reported a slightly lower average pre-migration income than the other urban groups, although this difference shows up only in the younger age groups. The rural blacks reported a slightly higher average income than the other rural samples in all age groups. Income was positively correlated with education; more education tended to mean higher incomes for all groups. There was little variation between the income levels reported by males and females in any group. There was an overall tendency for reported income to decline with age, although there were fluctuations within this pattern.

A cautionary note on the interpretation of income data should be added at this point. Because of the anticipated importance of the family unit in migration decisions, it was desired to collect financial data primarily on family income. The accuracy of reporting of this kind of data is notoriously bad, decreasing as the number of working family members increases, or as the chief wage earner has seasonal work, periods of unemployment, or more than one job. For this reason, the data have been grouped in the broad categories used in Tables 19. 8 and 19. 9, and little attempt has been made to relate them to external absolute numbers (such as those used in official definitions of poverty).

## Interrelations of Demographic Variables

In discussing the individual demographic indicators, we have mentioned briefly the more important relationships among them. Table 19. 10 summarizes these relationships. Taking the sample as a whole, there is a slight tendency for females to be younger (although this tendency is insignificant within the separate population groups). There is some tendency for older persons to have lower income levels. Young people are much more often single than old people. Younger people have much higher levels of educational attainment, and more young people were found in the migrant than the non-migrant group.

Sex was not strongly related to any other variables. There was some tendency for more males to be single than females, although this was restricted to a few sub-groups. Males had slightly lower income levels, and there was a slightly larger proportion of males in the rural than the urban sample. Males and females reported the same income levels.

## Table 19.10

## Intercorrelations Among Demographic Variables

| | Age[1] | Sex | Marital Status[1] | Income[1] | Education |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | | | | | |
| Sex | - | | | | |
| Marital Status | ++ | + | | | |
| Income | - | 0 | - | | |
| Education | -- | + | -- | ++ | |
| Urban/ Rural | ++ | - | ++ | + | - |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ++ | = | strong positive relationship | (Sommers D≥ .15) |
| + | = | some positive relationship | |
| 0 | = | no significant relationship | (no chisquare significance at .05 level) |
| - | = | some negative relationship | |
| -- | = | strong negative relationship | (Sommers D≥ -.15) |

Marital status was strongly related to age in the expected way. People who were single while in the rural area had a much higher tendency to be found in the migrant group. The strong statistical relationship between marital status and education (unmarried people having a greater tendency to be well educated) was actually a function of the tendency for unmarried people to be young. The mild relationship between marital status and income reflected the same tendency.

Education was highly correlated with age and income, less well educated people tending to have higher incomes. Females tended to be slightly better educated. Taking the sample as a whole, more people with low educational attainment were found in the rural area. This was an artificial result of the age disparity between urban and rural sample groups, however, within similar age groups the tendency was for the less well educated to be the migrants.

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[1] For members of the migrant group, the variables used here are those reporting pre-migration status.

The reported rural income showed a strong statistical relationship only with education. Younger people and single people tended to report somewhat higher income levels. Urban sample respondents reported a much lower pre-migration income than that of the current rural residents. (As is the case with education, the strength of the relationship in Table 19.10 is masked by the age differences between the groups.)

## Demographic Sub-Groups

When demographic variables are correlated against the variables found to be most closely related to migration behavior, four categories of demographic indicators stand out as particularly important: (1) age and marital status; (2) sex and the constructed proxy variables, decision-maker status and breadwinner status; (3) income and education, and (4) population group, or stream.

For the purpose of identifying sub-groups to receive specific policy attention, the first variable mentioned in each of those groups seems most useful. Age and marital status are closely related, both to each other and in their effects on perceptual and attitudinal variables, but age usually has the stronger predictive effect. Of the three variables, sex, breadwinner status and decision-maker status, the latter tends to be the strongest differentiator of behavior patterns. However, sex is much the easer variable for purposes of identifying program or policy recipients. Income and education almost always act in the same direction when correlated with other variables, with income usually showing the stronger correlations. It is not to be ignored, however, that education is an antecedent variable; that is, a person's education is established before his income, and there may be a causal relationship between the variables such that increasing a person's education would increase his income. The stream variable is itself a proxy for a combination of cultural factors and regional characteristics, and its significant correlations principally serve to remind us that policy must be tailored to the conditions of the area in which it is to be applied.

The age variable is most important in determining the individual's perceptions of the service structure of the rural and urban areas, and in identifying the probable set of experiences the individual has had. Thus, younger people (below age 26) tend to emphasize the advantages of the city service structure over that of the rural area; younger people have a higher rate of unemployment and a lower rate of asset ownership. The sex variable is primarily useful in identifying the type of experience an individual has in the labor market. It is only sporadically correlated with other important migration-related variables. Income is most useful as an indicator of experiences in and perceptions of the economic structure, lower income groups tending to have had less pleasant experiences and to be more critical. In some instances income level can indicate perceptions of the service structure, but here education often turns out to be a more important predictor.

# CHAPTER 20: NOTES ON DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

The individual case data presented in this report were collected in a special survey conducted by Abt Associates Inc., in the period from June to September, 1969. The original Office of Economic Opportunity mandate for the project determined two basic design characteristics of the survey. First, it would be conducted in two stages, one in which rural-to-urban migrants would be interviewed in the cities of their current residence, and one which would survey persons now residing in rural environments similar to those which the urban subjects had left. Second was the prescribed focus on three population groups: blacks residing in or migrating from the South, whites residing in or migrating from the Appalachian region, and Mexican-Americans residing in or migrating from the Southwest.

## Selection of Population

One of the early decisions in the specification of survey design was to consider the three racial/ethnic groups as separate populations, not as sub-groups of a single migrant or non-migrant population. It was initially suspected that most factors would act similarly upon the three groups, but it was felt that a design which did not count on such an occurrence would be preferable. In the event this proved a wise decision, for as has been demonstrated in preceding chapters (see especially Chapter 4), the three population groups proved to be significantly different in a number of the areas investigated.

For two of the population groups, Southeastern blacks and Southwestern Mexican-Americans, it was felt necessary to separate out a particular portion of the population to be studied. Rural-to-urban migration among blacks originating in the rural South is known to occur predominantly in two separate streams. One includes those persons who move from the southeastern coastal states (roughly from Virginia to Georgia) to the northeastern cities such as Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark and New York. The second stream flows principally from the South Central states (especially Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana) toward such cities as Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. Similarly, the broad population group variously defined as Mexican-American, Spanish-American or Spanish-surname includes a stream from southern California and Arizona toward the major west coast cities; a stream from the New Mexico-Colorado region toward regional centers (Denver, Albuquerque) and dispersing to cities in Utah and California; and two streams out of the Texas area, one with Los Angeles and other West Coast cities as a destination and the other flowing toward Chicago and other Midwestern cities.

In the South it was decided to focus on the southeastern coastal stream. This decision was based principally on the feeling that the southeastern stream was likely to be the larger in the next two or three decades. Current migration statistics have indicated that the rural-to-urban flow from both areas is at present in a decline. The loss of jobs due to the mechanization of cotton, believed to be a principal spur to the out-migration of the past decades, has now largely been equalized. No similar major new source of technological displacement seems to be in store in the South Central states. In the tobacco region along the Atlantic Coast, however, mechanization of the tobacco industry appears to be quite likely in the coming decades, and this could create a major new pool of potential migrants.

The selection of the New Mexico-Colorado area as the focus of the Spanish-American study was based primarily on feasibility. The initial intention was to sample migrants to Los Angeles, with the expectation that the sample thus drawn would include out-migrants from the whole region from southern California to Texas. Preliminary examination of Los Angeles and several other California cities revealed that it would be difficult to use the planned sampling procedures in these cities. The low density of residences per block in these cities, combined with the large area over which the cities spread, meant that neighborhoods with extremely high concentrations of recent in-migrants would have to be found in order to keep survey costs within the limits of possibility. But while the recent migrants seem to move into the existing Mexican-American neighborhoods, they constitute a very small part of the neighborhoods' total population. Further, a large number of the Mexican-American migrants to the California cities appear to be migratory agricultural workers. In a number of places we found concentrations of these people living on the outskirts of cities, still drawing most or all of their income from agricultural work. Since these people do not participate in the urban labor force and since their "urban" residence is often seasonal and temporary, it was not clear that they could be meaningfully discussed under the label of rural-to-urban migrants.

Given these operational difficulties it was decided to focus on the New Mexico-Colorado stream. The major expected destination cities for this stream, Denver and Albuquerque, began their rapid growth somewhat more recently than most of the west coast cities considered, and their Spanish-American populations are somewhat newer. In the case of the Appalachian whites no sub-division of the population group was necessary.

Selecting specific regional population groups for study limits by definition the extent to which the findings can be expected to hold true for the total population. The limitation is probably more significant for the Spanish-American than the black sample. While differences in the economic structure or other factors in the environment might be hypothesized to cause some response differences between blacks residing in Mississippi and those residing in North Carolina, one would not expect differences based on cultural or attitudinal differences between the two black populations. The extent to which the Spanish-Americans of the New Mexico-Colorado region differ from other Spanish-surname groups is less clear, although some evidence seems to suggest that the similarities are more important than the differences (see pp. 276-278).

In the statistical sense, of course, the populations to which we can generalize are strictly limited to smaller sub-sets of the three defined populations.

## Selection of Interviewing Locations

As suggested in the last section, past research has shown that rural-to-urban migration tends to occur in "streams", that is, patterns which link particular origin areas with particular destination cities. The difficulty experienced in the many studies which have used Census or similar data is that of linking origins to destinations. Approaches based on such data can seldom compare migrants to particular cities with the non-migrant residents of the rural areas which served as origins for the migrant group.

The need for related samples of rural and urban populations suggests two alternative strategies: one can start in rural areas, find out the cities people have gone to, and interview in those identified urban areas; or one can begin with the urban dweller, ask where he came from, and go back to that origin point for rural interviewing. Conceptual arguments can be made for either approach. Beginning in the rural areas and seeking out only urban dwellers who migrated from those same areas offers the advantage of controlling for the differential effects of different environmental characteristics at the origin. Beginning with the urban area, then going to selected rural origin points, offers greater assurance that the samples will be generally representative of the migrant and non-migrant populations.

The selection of the "urban first" approach was based on several factors. One factor was the need to focus on the low-income segments of the population in both rural and urban areas. A "rural first" approach requires that one identify and subsequently trace persons who have moved out of the rural areas. The tracing process requires that the out-migrant has transmitted back to the rural area some information as to his current address. It was feared that the poorer (and probably less educated) out-migrants would be least likely to send back the relatively formal information necessary for tracing. A second fear was that those who were relatively less successful in the city would be the most difficult to trace, both because of changing residences within the city and because of a possible reluctance to communicate the details of failure to ex-neighbors. In short, it was feared that the "rural first" approach would maximize the danger of non-response bias in precisely that group with which we were most concerned. The "urban first" approach chosen allowed a selection of low-income residences in both urban and rural areas.

A second fundamental requirement of the research design was that it enable us to examine the motivations for migration out of a variety of rural environments. To select the rural areas first would have required a specification of the environmental variables which were most closely related to migration, and it was felt that past research was insufficient to allow this specification. The approach chosen used the urban interviewing to create a statistical universe of origin counties, and representativeness of this universe was achieved through random sampling.

The third major factor in the selection of the "urban first" approach was the desire to test the appropriateness of the various hypothesized models of "step" or "chain" migration. The "rural first" approach would create a definite bias against finding any such multiple step migrants unless extremely costly tracing procedures were employed. It is reasonable to assume that the probability of the rural residents having accurate information on a migrant's location decreases with each successive move he makes. Further, the need to select a city where a large proportion of migrants had gone would automatically focus one's attention on a "first step" location. When migrants who had presumably moved to that city could not be found, there would be no way of knowing whether they had moved on to another city, or back to some rural area, or just to some other location within the city. The approach selected is by no means sufficient for testing all chain migration hypotheses. It misses people who are "en route" to the destination city but currently living in some intermediate place, and it misses those who have already left the destination city for some further migration. It does, however, allow an examination of all intermediate stops for those migrants currently residing in the city.

The procedure finally used for determining the locations for interviewing had the following steps:

1) One city was identified as a probable major destination point for each of the origin regions of interest. Baltimore, Md., was selected as the destination for the Southeastern blacks; Columbus, Ohio, for the Appalachian whites, and Denver, Colo. for the Southwestern Spanish-Americans. Interviewing was conducted in these cities.

2) On the basis of interviewing in the first-round cities, a preliminary list of origin points was drawn up. In each stream, a second city was selected on the basis of being a probable competing destination point for the migrants coming from the same areas. Thus Greensboro, N.C., was chosen as a possible alternative to Baltimore; Cincinnati, Ohio, as a competitor with Columbus; and Albuquerque, N.M. as a competitor to Denver.

In addition to the competition criterion, the expected size of the in-migrant population was taken into consideration in selecting the second-round cities. Approximately 150 interviews had been conducted in each of the first-round cities, and it was desired to approximate that number in the second round. Achieving this number put relatively stringent requirements on city characteristics. Using 1950 and 1960 Census data as indicators, cities were examined for a high growth rate, a high net in-migration rate and, where possible, a high density of the population group of interest in the center city area. Neighborhood clustering and post-1960 in-migration rates were checked by telephone calls to the cities under consideration.

It was initially planned to use the first-round city data for a preliminary evaluation of the "intermediate city" or "step migration" phenomenon. If the data showed that most migrants did arrive at their destination by means of an intermediate city, such a city would be sought for the second-round interviewing. As it turned out, the data were ambiguous. They showed a sizeable proportion of the population making some stop between their origin and the city in which they were interviewed. But the size and nature of the intermediate place varied greatly, and no more than a handful of migrants had passed through any one place. (This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 14). In the Southeast and Southwest, where the intermediate stop phenomenon appeared to be most important, Greensboro and Albuquerque were selected partially on the grounds that they might serve either as competing final destination points or as intermediate stops for their migrant populations. No major design changes were made to test intermediate city hypotheses, however.

3) Data from the second-round cities was added to that from the first-round cities to yield a total list of origin counties. (There were somewhat under 100 counties listed for each pair of cities.) A weighted random sample was drawn, each county being weighted by the number of migrants from that county who had been interviewed. The counties in which interviews were conducted were:

| Southeast | Appalachia | Southwest |
|---|---|---|
| Caldwell, N.C. | Bell, Ky. | Colfax, N.M. |
| Chatham, N.C. | Harlan, Ky. | Huerfano, Colo. |
| Edgecomb, N.C. | Jackson, Ohio | La Plata, Colo. |
| Laurens, S.C. | Lawrence, Ky. | Las Animas, Colo. |
| Lenoir, N.C. | Martin, Ky. | Mora, N.M. |
| Orange, N.C. | Mingo, W. Va. | Rio Arriba, N.M. |
| Pitt, N.C. | Perry, Ky. | Socorro, N.M. |
| Prince Edward, Va. | Wayne, W. Va. | Torrance, N.M. |

Any procedure for selecting the specific cities and counties to be studied imposes limiting definitions upon the universe to which findings can be generalized. The result of the procedures used in this instance is to define the migrant universe in each of the three streams as those migrating to the two cities studied. The rural universe is defined as persons residing in those counties identified as origin points for subjects interviewed in the two cities; in other words, the population left behind by those who migrated.

The technical definition of the universe is perhaps less important at this point than an understanding of the ways in which the cities and counties selected may be unique or non-representative. Since selection of counties followed from the selection of cities, it is in the city selection that significant biases might be introduced. The city selection process deliberately looked for situations where there was a high rate of in-migration, where the racial/ethnic group constituted a predominant proportion of the in-migrants, and where the in-migrants tended to cluster in neighborhood. The sample is therefore biased against cities which do not have these characteristics. It should also be noted that none of the cities selected is the largest which could serve as a destination city for the stream. Thus, while the selected cities are representative of the largest range of destinations, insofar as pure size is critical in determining a choice of migration destinations, migrants to New York, Chicago and Los Angeles could be different from those in the sample.

It is by no means clear that any of these possible biases is related to the factors discussed in this study, i.e., the causes of migration. So for most applications of these data, it seems reasonable to consider these cities as representative of other destinations for the same populations. The selection biases could have significant relationships to the migrants' assimilation process, however, and in that context caution should be exercised in using the data. Otherwise, the principal limitation caused by the choice of locations is simply that of the particular population groups and streams studied.

## Sampling

Sampling in the urban areas was a three-stage process. First, low-income neighborhoods containing high concentrations of recent in-migrants of the desired racial/ethnic background were identified. Most literature and opinion reviewed at the beginning of the study suggested that in-migrants tend to cluster in relatively small and well-defined neighborhoods in the city. While major exceptions to this pattern were encountered, it did hold true sufficiently to make the design feasible. Neighborhoods were identified principally through conversation with "expert informants", these informants including officials in service organizations (school systems, public health services, community action agencies, churches); persons working directly with the neighborhoods and people in question (social workers, welfare case workers), and less "official" persons who were expected to have some knowledge of neighborhood populations (storekeepers, postmen, taxi drivers, bartenders). While no source was found to be consistently reliable, and all sources tended to report a considerably higher rate of recent migrant residence than was found in actual operations, it was possible to specify with reasonable accuracy both the boundaries and the relative migrant density of different neighborhoods.

The neighborhood identification process clearly introduces some biases into the sample. Most importantly, those individuals who for some reason did not "cluster" were not likely to be found. Individuals moving alone, for example, might tend to stay with relatives who had migrated earlier, succeeded financially, and moved out of the low-income neighborhood. Similarly, individuals who had "succeeded" and moved out of the low-income area within five years of migrating would be excluded, although other research suggests that this group would be small in number. (Either occurrence would be most likely among the Appalachian group, for whom both economic success and geographic mobility within the city are less difficult.) A deliberate attempt was made to include "boarding house neighborhoods", where young, single migrants might stay, but there remains a probability that the sample contains a lower percentage of these people than it otherwise would.

The selection of only low-income neighborhoods creates an important and deliberate sampling bias. If policy is to attempt to influence the migration process, then it is clear that the targets of the policy should be those people whose migration is of least benefit to themselves or to society. Residence in a low-income neighborhood is by no means an infallible indicator of either type of non-benefit, but it seems the most operationally useful means of defining a population which includes most of the non-benefiting migrants. It should nonetheless be borne in mind that the sample includes only migrants whose "success", measured in terms of the neighborhood in which they live, is limited.

The second stage of the urban sampling process was to draw a weighted random sample of the blocks included in the identified migrant neighborhoods. Weighting was applied on the basis of expected number of migrant residences per block (estimated residential density times estimated proportion of recent migrants, estimates made on the basis of "reconnaissance" field work). A "block" was operationally defined as two sides of a street between two intersections, this being considered as the easiest unit to deal with for administrative and supervisory purposes. (In some low-density areas the definition was changed in order to equalize the expected number of residences per "block" in different sampling areas.)

The urban sampling design used the block as the primary sampling unit. A series of formulae was developed to specify the number of blocks to be sampled. Each city was considered as a separate universe. The general formula for a city was:

$$\hat{V}(\hat{P}) = \frac{1 - \frac{b}{B}}{b - 1} \sum_{i=1}^{b} \frac{(\hat{P}_i - \hat{P})^2}{b}$$

where $\hat{V}(\hat{P})$ = estimated sampling variance of estimate of true proportion (set at .0625)

$t$ = confidence (set at 2)

$\Delta p$ = precision (set at .15)

$B$ = actual number of blocks in identified neighborhoods

$b$ = number of sample blocks.

A variation of this formula was used to stratify sampling by neighborhood in some cities. Another formula was developed for within-block sampling when the migrant population of a block is high. Only a few blocks with more than 10 migrant residences were found, however, so the within-block sampling formula was never employed.

Application of the main sample formula yielded sample size requirements of from 21 to 25 blocks in the cities. However, since the blocks turned out in practice to have a much lower proportion of migrant residents than anticipated, and since it was felt that for analytical purposes the minimum acceptable sample size was between 125 and 150, the number of blocks actually sampled greatly exceeded the numbers prescribed by the formula. In Baltimore, for example, 46 out of the approximately 900 blocks in the neighborhoods were sampled. (Applying these values to the equation, $\Delta p$ is less than .05 with variance and confidence levels held constant.) In some cases it was necessary to conduct interviews on all of the identified blocks, in which cases the sample equals the universe for statistical purposes.

On the selected blocks, a set of screening questions was asked at every residence. Where a valid respondent was found, the interviewer continued with the interview. (In some cases, when it was not certain that the identified blocks would contain the minimum acceptable number of migrants, screening and interviewing were done on separate days.) The valid respondent was defined as an individual who:

1) was of the racial/ethnic group under study;
2) within the past 5 years, had lived in a rural area for at least six months and subsequently moved to live in an urban area;
    a) where it was believed that insufficient numbers of more recent migrants existed, the 5-year recency was relaxed to 10 years; but the emphasis in selection of neighborhoods was on the 5-year period;
    b) the dividing line between urban and rural was set at a population size of 25,000; subjects who were uncertain of the size of their pre-migration

residence were shown a list of towns in their
state of the critical population size, and asked
whether the town they lived in was bigger or
smaller;

3) had been at least 16 years old at the time he moved.

Several points should be noted concerning the character of the sample admitted by this definition. First, it does admit persons who were not heads of household. Interviewers were instructed to interview the head of household if he or she was present; otherwise, anyone in the residence who met the definition was to be interviewed. Any household survey procedure which does not exclude non-heads of household runs the risk of strong over-representation of housewives. Two measures were taken to reduce the effects of this potential bias. First, when the respondent had not been employed at the origin place before migration, all employment history questions were asked about the head of household. Second, interviewers were required to obtain a minimum of approximately 1/3 male respondents on each block. If they saw that they were getting less than this response level, they were instructed to cease interviewing and return at a different time of day. This resulted in a total urban sample in which the lowest percentage of male responses for any population group was 38.6%; the highest was 45.7%.

Careful attention should be paid to the type of migrant admitted to the sample. The operational definition of rural and urban is not that used in Census statistics; rather, it includes small towns up to 25,000 population. Small towns were included principally because they represent the origin points for a significant portion of the population of in-migrants to major urban centers, and less is known about them precisely because of the Census definition. The cutoff point of 25,000 was based on the fact that 25-50,000 is the smallest number suggested by the literature as necessary for self-sustaining growth and efficiency in the provision of urban services,[1] and thus the smallest likely to be used in a policy of providing alternative destinations for migration.

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[1] Werner Z. Hirsch, "The Supply of Urban Public Services", in Perloff & Wingo, eds. "Issues in Urban Economics" (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, Resources for the Future, 1968, pp. 477-526.)

The establishment of a limit on the length of time since the migrant's rural-to-urban move introduces two kinds of biases to the sample. First, it obviously renders impossible any generalization to groups who made their rural-to-urban move more than 5 years ago. (And the earlier migrants make up the majority of the population of what are regarded in the cities as the "migrant" neighborhoods. Perceptions of migrant status appear to be very insensitive to the recency of the migration.) Less obviously, it excludes those "chain migrants" who arrived in the sample city recently, but who left the rural area more than 5 years ago and engaged in a series of urban-to-urban migrations. Similarly, it should be noted that another group not included in the sample is the rural-to-urban migrants who arrived at the sample city in the critical time period but who went on to another urban area or back to a rural area.

## Rural Sampling

The general approach to sampling in the rural areas was similar to urban sampling in requiring selection at a variety of levels (multistage sample). The composition of the universe of rural counties was described above. Within the list of counties established for each population group, a weighted random sampling procedure yielded the specific counties in which interviewing was conducted. Within each selected county, Census divisions were randomly selected. Within each Census division, households were randomly selected. The general formula used to determine the number of counties, divisions and households to be in the sample is a variation of that used in urban sampling.

Application of the formula led finally to interviewing in eight counties in each stream, six Census divisions within each county, and six households within each Census division. The use of six Census divisions was in fact considerably more than would have been required by the formula, but was fixed in advance to assure approximately equal numbers of interviews from each county. Where Census tract maps were not available to field people, or where division boundaries did not define roughly equal population groups, arbitrary divisions with roughly equivalent population size were used.

Within Census divisions, a geographic random sampling procedure was used. In most cases, field operatives were able to obtain household maps for the counties; otherwise, the largest-scale map available was used. A numbered grid was placed over the selected area, and a random number table used to select grid points. The interviewer was sent to the house nearest the selected point. (Where road maps rather than household maps had to be used, the interviewer was sent to the point on a road nearest to the selected point, and told to continue in the same direction to the first household.)

The criteria for establishing the validity of a rural respondent were analogous to those used in the urban area. A valid respondent had to be (1) of the racial/ethnic background under study, and (2) at least 16 years old. Procedures aimed at minimizing the housewife bias were used as they were in the urban sampling, resulting in a proportion of male respondents ranging from 39.7% to 58.65% for the total populations. Pretesting had shown that random household sampling was likely to yield an age structure much older than that obtained for the urban sample, so an attempt was made to increase the number of younger respondents, similar to that intending to increase the proportion of males. Even with this effort, however, only about 22% of the rural sample was under 26 years old, while more than 55% of the urban sample had been under 26 at the time of their rural-to-urban migration. This of course reflects the known pattern of out-migration in the younger age groups.

In the urban survey, respondents had been pre-selected on a general poverty criterion by the selection of low-income neighborhoods only. This type of selection was not possible in the rural areas. Rather, interviewers were informed that it was desired to interview only poor people: when the random selection process led them to a household which they could identify as not poor -- for example, if it was a prosperous farm, or a family the interviewer knew to be well-off, or an obviously "good" house by local standards -- then the interviewers were instructed to pass on and continue in the same direction until a valid household was found. (Continuing in the same direction was the standard means for replacing a household which had been selected but turned out not to contain a valid respondent.) The use of this type of poverty criterion introduces some problems in county-to-county comparisons. What is poor in one county may be not so poor in another county. On the other hand, the complexity of definitions using either reported income or standard of living indicators, combined with the serious doubts as to the applicability of these definitions in rural areas, makes them both difficult to work with and of uncertain value. In this situation, the more viable technique was felt to be that described above, in combination with the use of analytical controls for reported income level.

To summarize, both urban and rural surveys employed a multistage sampling process. In the urban survey, cities were selected on the basis of a priori criteria, neighborhoods were identified within cities, blocks were sampled within neighborhoods, and migrant households were censused within blocks. In the rural survey, a list of counties was compiled on the basis of the histories of the migrants interviewed, counties were sampled from the list, divisions were sampled within the counties, and households were sampled within the divisions. The principal biases created by this design would appear to be:

1) in both cities and counties, a bias favoring the inclusion of poor people and exclusion of the non-poor;

2) in both rural and urban, household sampling causes a bias in favor of a disproportionate inclusion of housewives, though this was to some extent controlled;

3) in the rural areas, a deliberate bias tending to over-represent younger age groups (although these groups are still relatively small compared to the cities, due to the different age structure of the rural poor population);

4) in the cities, a bias tending to exclude migrants who do not move into or remain in "migrant neighborhoods".

Every effort has been made in the preceding analyses to control for these biases. Nonetheless, the reader should bear them in mind in applying the findings to policy or comparing them to studies with different designs, and thus different biases.

## Interviewing

In both urban and rural surveys an interview lasting approximately 35-45 minutes was administered to all subjects. The basic structure of the interview in rural and urban areas was quite similar. In some subject areas it was felt appropriate to ask for a greater level of detail in the rural than the urban area, since in the rural interview the subject was being asked about a current experience or perception, while the urban subject was reporting facts and perceptions as much as several years in the past. The interviews for the Southeastern, Appalachian and Southwestern studies were identical except in two areas. Questions relating to discrimination were omitted from the Appalachian interview schedule, and questions specifically relating to mining experience were asked only of the Appalachian sample. The Southwestern instrument had both English and Spanish versions. Specific variations in question formation between population groups or rural and urban sample groups are discussed in the presentation of data in previous chapters.

Interviewing in both urban and rural areas was conducted principally by persons recruited locally. In all cases, interviewers were of the same racial/ethnic group as the persons interviewed, and in almost all cases they were residents of the neighborhoods in which interviewing was carried out. They were usually recruited through some local community service organization. The education level of interviewers varied considerably. The best educated interviewers were college students and staff members of community service organizations. These persons were in the minority, however, Most commonly the interviewers had only a high school education, and frequently they had not graduated from high school. In recruiting interviewers, the quality sought was the ability and willingness to approach and talk with strangers, or basic verbal self-confidence.

Persons recruited to do interviewing were given from two to five hours of training in the use of the instrument. (Trainers were also matched to interviewer characteristics, to the extent of being Spanish-speaking in the Southwest, black in the Southeast and white in Appalachia.) Trainers concentrated on giving the interviewers an understanding of the general purposes of the project and the uses to which information would be put, familiarity with the information desired in each question, and familiarity with the order of the questions. A distinction was made between questions which were seeking factual information about a person's life and questions which required the subject's reaction to a particular statement. In the former case, interviewers were encouraged to rephrase questions or to get the information through general conversation. In the latter case, they were instructed to read the question exactly as written and to be sensitive to the interviewee's response. Interviews were turned in to the field operative at the end of the day, at which time they would be reviewed for completeness and clarity. Where necessary interviewers were sent fack for further information. No systematic check-back validation procedure was used, however.

## Data

The urban and rural survey questionnaires were structured to provide the following general types of data:

1) Migration history of respondents, beginning with their residence at age 16 and including all counties of more than three months' residence up to the current residence. One move in the sequence was identified for specific consideration in other questions. This move was the first which the individual made from a rural (i. e., population less than 25, 000) to an urban (population more than 25, 000) area. The distance covered in each move was also computed.

2) Demographic data describing the individual at the time of his rural-to-urban migration. For current rural residents, demographic data referred to the time of the interview. For migrant subjects, selected demographic data (e. g., age, income, marital status) were also collected as of the time of the interview, but most data referred to the premigration rural status.

3) Employment history in the rural area, including experience in nearby labor markets involving commuting.

4) Characteristics of the migration, including decision characteristics (time thinking of moving, number of destinations considered, etc.) and the manner in which the move was made (alone or accompanied, knowing someone in advance in the destination, etc.). For rural residents, analogous questions were asked of those who stated that they had considered moving to the city.

5) Reasons for migration, including reasons for the main rural-to-urban move and reasons for all other moves in the migration history. Rural residents stated reasons for any moves in their history, whether rural-to-urban or not.

6) Perceptions of problems in the rural area. These questions focused particularly on those aspects of the economic and service structure of the rural area which can most feasibly be influenced by Federal policy or programs.

7) Perceptions of differences between urban and rural areas. These questions focused on the individuals' perceptions of urban areas as better or worse than rural areas with respect to the same problems emphasized above.

8) Expectation of future moves, either to the city, for the rural residents, or back to the origin area, for the city dwellers.

(It is appropriate to acknowledge at this point the contributions of a number of other students of migration in the formulation of both hypotheses to be tested and specific questions to test the hypotheses. In a number of cases, question wording was taken directly or only slightly adapted from questionnaires used in other studies. Of particular utility were the contributions of Calvin Beale of the U.S. Department of Agriculture; Gene Peterson of the Bureau of Social Sciences Research; Daniel Price of TRACOR; John Kain of Harvard University; Lyle Shannon of the University of Iowa; and Robert Hanson of the University of Colorado.)

The initial construction of both rural and urban questionnaires, and the field procedures required, were pre-tested before final application. Pre-tests of the urban questionnaire were conducted in Boston and Los Angeles. The rural instrument was tested in Cheraw, South Caroline, and Clay, Kentucky. Considerable revision of the instruments proved necessary to assure that the questions would be meaningful to the respondents, and the answers meaningful to the analysts.

In addition to the data collected through the survey instruments, considerable information was compiled on the characteristics of counties in which individuals in the sample lived. Using Census and other public information sources, approximately fifty descriptive indicators were developed for each county which had been mentioned by a member of either the urban or rural sample as a place of residence. (This was a total of about 550 counties.) These data included general demographic and economic growth indicators, indicators of specific labor market conditions, and indicators of the degree to which goods and services (especially those which might be influenced by policy) are available to county residents.

## Methods of Analysis

Our methodological approach in this study has been first to make explicit our theoretical hypotheses and then to test them, using in sequence statistical techniques of increasing sophistication. Most of our tables presuppose a causal ordering of the variables.[1] Thus, we generally do not present tables with percentages by migrant and non-migrant. Rather migrant/non-migrant status is used as the dependent variable to be explained by the other variable (e.g. unemployment, perception of housing, etc.), given various control variables.

The analysis began with the calculation of contingency tables and non-parametric statistics measuring statistical significance and strength of association. Most of our data is nominal or at best ordinal. To measure statistical significance, we routinely used the Chi-Square test. To measure the strength of association and magnitude of influence by the theoretically-hypothesized causal factor, we calculated Sommer's D for each table. Given ordinal data and using the contingency table approach and non-parametric statistics, we were able to test a number of hypotheses and to narrow down the number of variables which we desired to test with multi-variate techniques.

Our decision to use a probablistic measure of strength of association rather than one of the measures from the Chi-Square family was prompted by our desire to test causal hypotheses. Such testing requires the measurement of the relative influence of alternative or complementary variables upon some dependent variable.

The Chi-Square family of statistics solely measures the likelihood that some pattern of relationship did not arise by chance. As the number of observations increases, the probability that any given pattern of relationship is statistically significant increases. It is true, of course, that a strong association will prove statistically significant. Yet, it is not intuitively clear what differences in Chi-Square tests mean, other than that it is more or less likely that a pattern did not arise by chance. A nonlinear difference emerges between the Chi-Square tests for strong and very strong relationships. One cannot routinely state that a Cramer's V which is twice the value of another Cramer's V, means that the relationship measured by the first statistic is twice as strong as the relationship measured by the second.

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[1] Our understanding and approach to causal modelling and inference borrows heavily from the work of Henry Simon and Hubert Blalock. For an excellent discussion of causal inference in social science research and particularly empirical research, see Hubert M. Blalock, Theory Construction, Englewood Cliffs: 1969, and H. M. Blalock and A. B. Blalock, Methodology in Social Research, N. Y.: 1968, especially the chapters by Blalock on "Theory Building and Causal Inference," by Raymond Boudon on "A New Look at Correlation Analysis," and James S. Coleman, "The Mathematical Study of Change." Several individuals associated with this study are attempting in private research to develop statistical equivalents of path coefficients for ordinal variables, for application to the data presented in this report.

By turning to the probablistic family of nonparametric statistics, one increases one's power for manipulating and interpreting statistics to measure the strength of relationships and association between variables. The statistics achieve an intuitive meaning. Probability can only run between 0.0 and 1.0. A probabilistic measure of association which is twice the magnitude of a similar probablistic statistic means that the strength of the relationship is twice as great, subject to the usual qualifications of errors in variable measurement.

The Sommers D is one of the more recently developed probablistic statistics.[1] Its range is between 0.0 and [1.0], with the sign depicting the direction of causation. The statistic was developed as a measure for the asymmetric ordinal case, in short for precisely the kinds of causal hypotheses and ordinal data that we are testing. The asymmetry assumption is that the columns of the table represent the categories of the independent variable, while the rows represent the categories of the dependent variable. The statistic could be interpreted as the probability of "like" order minus the probability of "unlike" order (given no ties on the column variable), when two units are drawn at random from the table. In the 2x2 table, the D statistic is equivalent to the difference in the percentages of the two columns along either row. The sign of course interprets the direction of hypothesized causation.

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[1] For the mathematical derivation and a discussion of the statistical properties and interpretation of the D Statistic, see R. H. Sommer, "A New Asymmetric Measure of Association for Ordinal Variables," American Sociological Review (Dec., 1962), pp. 799-811.

In the tables and statistics which we have presented in this report, we have attempted for the most part to explain the analytical meaning of the D statistic within the context of the table or the theoretical discussion. Also, all statistics for tables which were not statistically significant at the .10 level are usually identified as nonsignificant.[1] unless expressly discussed as nonsignificant within the table or the text. We remind the reader that a nonsignificant relationship means that the pattern could have arisen by chance. The percentages and D statistic show the pattern and the strength of pattern which actually existed within the data.

There is no question that the analysis of causation must eventually move into the area of multivariate analysis. Unfortunately, the pervasiveness of dummy and ordinal variables in our data make the necessary assumptions for classical regression analysis impossible. Transforming the nominal variables into a series of dummy variables renders analysis possible, but makes interpretation of results difficult. Similarly, the extensiveness of interaction affects among our data makes analysis of variance highly subject to methodological doubt. Given these complications and given our goal of explaining the migration or non-migration or individuals, we have therefore anlayzed our data with the techniques of discriminant analysis.[1] We stress, however, that the nature of the data is sufficiently different from that assumed in most multivariate statistical tests that the results of our multivariate analysis should be regarded as a heuristic tool, rather than as scientifically predictive equations. The total validity of the discriminant functions calculated through regression analysis of our data population can be evaluated by observing the accuracy with which individuals can be classified into migrant and non-migrant categories on the basis of the discrininant functions. The relative importance of the independent variables can only be appraised heuristically, however. Similarly, there is the traditional problem of inferring causation from correlation. Also, there still may be significant interaction among some of our variables. Given these considerations, the coefficients and Beta-weights in our regression and discriminant analysis must be regarded primarily in a heuristic sense. Fortunately, the findings of our discriminant analysis conform closely to our conclusions from our analysis using contingency tables. This conformity tends to strengthen our faith in our multivariate approach.

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[1] The usual presentation of a nonsignificant relationship will be in the following format: NS (  D).

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[1] Our use of discriminant analysis is quite traditional. For a good discussion of the statistical technique in the context of research on an abstractly analogous policy issue, see Stanley L. Warner, Stochastic Choice of Mode in Urban Travel: A Study in Binary Choice, Chicago. Multivariate analysis is used in the Data-text and DREGS programs packages operating on IBM 7094 and 360-65 respectively.

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